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Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-89-168
Thursday
31 August 1989

Daily Report

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FBIS-*AFR*-89-168

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Ethiopia

Mengistu Addresses Central Committee Session

EA2908181989 Addis Ababa Domestic Service
in Amharic 1730 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] The 10th regular session of the Workers Party of Ethiopia [WPE] Central Committee was held today. Comrade Mengistu Haile Mariam, secretary general of the WPE Central Committee, president of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, and commander in chief of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, presented the main report.

[Begin Mengistu recording] Dear comrades, it is 5 years since we held our party's founding session, that is, the first congress. The ninth regular session of our Central Committee resolved, in accordance with the regulations, to hold the second congress at the end of this 5th year. A commission to make preparations for the congress was set up and began work.

However, more time is needed for a clear assessment and evaluation of the present, tangible situation within the country and internationally, so that we can come up with conclusions and directives which are essential to our future goals for social development. Furthermore, the structuring and participation of zonal organs of the political system, especially people's power, in autonomous and administrative areas, are an essential prerequisite for the preparation of a development plan that takes proper account of the objective situation in the various parts of our country. Adequate time is needed to consider these important issues.

Therefore, the Politburo has decided that the convening of the congress should be deferred for 1 year. This decision will be presented to the Central Committee for approval.

This year [Ethiopian calendar], which is drawing to a close, has been one of the most constructive. It is one in which various developments have occurred. These attracted a lot of attention. At the beginning of the year, the ninth ordinary session of our Central Committee passed various resolutions in accordance with the party program. These have contributed to socioeconomic progress and the improvement of the people's living standards. Legal and other conditions have been laid down for the smooth implementation of these resolutions. Some of the resolutions have already been implemented.

The other great action is the new peace initiative, which was proposed by our National Shengo, for the achievement of total peace in our country so that we can give our full attention to development. We have been making tremendous efforts in the party, the National Shengo and the Politburo to implement this initiative. Furthermore, in accordance with those resolutions, elections have been held in 3 autonomous regions and 11 administrative areas and shengos have been established, thereby giving

expression to the popular will. This is an achievement of great value, gained through our struggle.

But the year will not be remembered as a year of positive achievements only. Negative situations also occurred. The situation as regards peace in the northern part of the country deteriorated instead of improving. We have made immense sacrifices as a result. Last May's coup attempt, which was crushed by our Revolutionary Army, which upholds the cause of the masses, was the other dangerous situation. It is in order to assess these developments and their results and to make the necessary preparations that we have postponed the party congress for 1 year.

Dear Comrades, we clearly stated in various basic documents right at the start of our revolution that our aim is to build a just and equitable society where national prosperity will prevail. The total realization of this popular aim cannot be achieved without peace. It is for this reason that we have made relentless efforts to solve the problem in the northern part of our country.

The National Shengo held an emergency session on 5 June 1989 and put forward an initiative aimed at reaching a peaceful solution. Once again, the new peace initiative clearly manifests the clear-cut position of our party and government in favor of peace. If our desire for stability and peace materializes, it will not only benefit the total welfare of our society and people, but will also make a constructive contribution to peace in our region, the continent, and the world at large.

We believe that the development of the peace initiative will indicate the purpose, aim, and relevance of the steps we have taken. These steps include, first and foremost, preliminary discussions with the opposition on procedural matters, followed by discussion on the main issues, and, finally, the implementation of the agreement reached. In the first stage of activities, a wide-ranging effort has been made over the past months to introduce the peace initiative nationally and internationally. This has attracted encouraging support from the international community. Efforts have also been made to secure a conducive atmosphere for the preliminary talks with the opposition parties. These efforts have led to a direct meeting with the opposition parties, at which procedural matters will be discussed. We have made the necessary preparations so that these discussions can start soon.

Nevertheless, the realization of the initiative also depends on the opposition parties' readiness and sense of responsibility. Their desire to contribute positively, legally, and historically and their genuine will and determination will be decisive. In general, there is a need for persistence, far-sightedness, hard work in all areas, and sacrifice if peace is to be achieved. We have to have a real understanding of this. [end recording]

On the economic front, necessary resolutions were passed for the improvement of economic management

[preceding word in English] on the national and organizational levels. Relevant measures to resolve contradictions existing in state development organizations and cooperatives were outlined. The contribution that the private sector can make to the national economy, which was raised during the ninth ordinary session of the WPE Central Committee, is not a new idea. The comrade general secretary explained that this issue is clearly set out in our party program. He said that the ninth meeting of the Central Committee passed resolutions on private capital, agriculture, small-scale industry, trade, hotel services, and joint development ventures with the state in the establishment of large-scale farms, dairy farms, factories, and services. These resolutions encourage the people by clarifying legal and organizational competence. This is a guarantee for the success of the program. The ninth ordinary session attracted continental and international attention. This is clear from evidence gathered at various fora.

He indicated that successful and profitable joint ventures could help anchor the political power of the working class and boost the economy. He revealed that proclamations, regulations, and guidelines have been prepared in order to resolve contradictions which could inhibit the progress of joint ventures and productivity in governmental and private economic organizations. The proclamation on state development work, regulations on improving and encouraging productivity, regulations on salary and bonus funds, and the decree on the organization and activity of joint ventures have already been completed, he said. Regarding the private economic sector, a special State Council decree has been prepared on the development of small-scale industries, hotel services, and joint development associations. In a related area, he said that proclamations which will enable private investors and entrepreneurs to participate in the economy, were being prepared. He said that in accordance with the relevant articles of the constitution and the laws of the land, a conducive atmosphere has been created for private investors to contribute to the national economy and derive benefit from their investments.

[Begin Mengistu recording] One of the main resolutions of the ninth ordinary session of the WPE Central Committee concerned the Second 5-Year Economic and Social Plan. For various reasons it has been decided that the completion of all aspects of the plan needs more time. These include the fact that the autonomous regions and administrative areas are only now being established. Furthermore, the relevant organizational structures, policies, proclamations, rules, and regulations, demand reforms and changes which are not yet complete.

For this reason, after exhaustively discussing the matter, the Politburo directed that the next 5-year development plan should be deferred for 1 year, so that it can be further strengthened. It also directed that a special plan be drawn up for the 1989-90 budget year, and that both the 1989-90 plan and the 5-year plan be presented to the third session of the National Shengo.

Wide-ranging efforts have been made to implement the economic recommendations and development directives issued by the ninth ordinary session of the WPE Central Committee. What we have tried to explain here is what has been implemented in the short time at our disposal. We also know that much work awaits us during the coming year. As soon as the studies being undertaken are complete, they will be promulgated, as deemed appropriate, in laws, rules, and regulations, so as to enhance our development schemes in the new structure. [end recording]

Since our economy, like other developing economies, is closely linked to the international economy, the international economy greatly influences our social development, positively and negatively, the comrade secretary general stated. When we assess the economies of the developing countries, after these long years of struggle, we are forced to conclude that they have not succeeded in overcoming backwardness at all. Whatever scale you use, it is clear that the economies of the developing countries are, on the whole, deteriorating. Of course, in the 1950's and 1960's high economic growth was observed in most developing countries. But since the mid seventies the economies of most developing countries have been deteriorating to an alarming degree, he said. Speaking about the problems of the African Continent, the comrade secretary general said the following:

[Begin Mengistu recording] When we look at the economic situation of the African Continent, we see that the problem is worse than anywhere else. In the sub-Saharan African countries, productivity increased by 0.4 percent during 1980-87. During the same period the average population increase was 3.1 percent. Per capita income decreased by 2.5 percent annually. Because of this it was not possible to export goods in the required quantity. Foreign loans and aid have also been decreasing.

On the other hand, the debt burden has increased to the point where it now amounts to 75 percent of the continent's total product. The annual debt and debt service payments amount to 35 percent of annual income. In addition, the fast growing population, the change in climate, the decrease in natural resources, war, and other man-made problems have made the continent prey to hunger, disease, poverty, and economic imbalance. According to World Bank predictions, per capita incomes in Africa in 1990 will be lower than when most of these countries gained independence, that is, in 1960.

There are several reasons for the economic deterioration in developing countries: the increasing debt burden, the decline in prices for developing countries' exports, the increasing price of imports, the barriers and protectionism surrounding developed countries' markets, the change in climate, the decline of natural resources, and the slow development of science and technology are the main ones. The decline in production in developing countries, the deterioration of per capita incomes, and the low level of savings have inhibited local industrial

growth. As a result, we were forced to finance the purchase of investment goods through loans and aid received from abroad.

However, the acquisition of loans and assistance has become unprecedentedly difficult. Repayment periods and increasing interest rates have aggravated the debt burden of developing countries to the extent that they are now unable to cover them. The problem has been exacerbated by declining export earnings and increased import prices.

Most developing countries have adopted various measures aimed at improving their economies and alleviating their problems. Some of these are measures that stimulate growth in production, export growth, and the efficient utilization of resources. However, these efforts have been unsuccessful due to a lack of adequate support from wealthy countries. Although wealthy countries have been expected to contribute by writing off debts owed them by developing countries, by facilitating the availability of additional loans and assistance, and by contributing to the creation of stable and appropriate markets for the exports of developing countries, the efforts they have made in all these spheres, to date, have been totally incompatible with the problems facing developing countries. Hence, apart from a few countries in the Far East, the general economies of developing countries are at a critical stage. [end recording]

When we assess the condition of our country's economy with respect to the harsh reality facing developing countries we realize that there are some encouraging aspects as well as problems. In view of the reality in many African countries, in which basic services like education, health services, and communications are being discontinued, we should be satisfied that we have been able to register accelerated development, particularly in the rural parts of our country. The fact that the rate of growth of our GNP is higher than other sub-Saharan African countries should not be taken lightly. Although annual per capita revenue is small, it has grown, excluding those years in which natural disasters occurred.

He explained that when this was compared to the reality which existed in developing countries, which was that of a decrease in annual per capita income, it was possible to say that it was an encouraging result. The comrade secretary general continued his speech:

[Begin Mengistu recording] In fact, the foundation of our development is at a low level compared with most African countries and our problems are more evident than our achievements. We know that there are numerous economic problems which need to be faced. However, this should not prevent us from correctly evaluating the major development efforts we are making to accelerate the country's economic growth and to improve the workers' standard of living.

On top of this, it should not be forgotten that over the past 15 years we have had to withstand three different

periods of natural disaster which were termed horrific at an international level. In addition, it is well-known that we have not been able to focus all our abilities, labor and attention on constructive tasks due to the peace problem in the north of our country, which we inherited from the former regime. Hence, had we not been repeatedly affected by natural calamities and had we not been forced or obliged to make huge sacrifices to preserve our country's unity and independence, we would, today, have been able to reach the stage at which the new system that we are constructing would have flowered, borne fruit, and become evident.

When we assess the implementation of the 1988-89 plan, we see that although the goals we set have not been fully achieved, the results, in light of the complex internal and external problems the country has faced, are not to be regarded lightly. The 4.5 percent growth in GNP in 1988-89 is a satisfying development. In fact, the basis for this development is the agricultural sector of the economy which grew by 5.8 percent.

The principal reason for this was the improved weather conditions in the 1987-88 rainy season. We must understand that the main factor behind the recorded improvement in GNP growth was not an improvement in economic development or productivity over past years. The industrial sector of the economy grew by about 3 percent when compared with the productivity of recent years and in light of the goals of the plan, the current growth in the industrial sector is relatively low. The retail sector has also grown by 3.7 percent. This growth, compared to growth in recent years and the goals of the plan, is still low. Inasmuch as a deterioration in the growth of the industrial and service sectors of the economy is not a healthy trend, it merits special attention in our efforts over the forthcoming year. Although per capita income rose to 196 birr in 1988-89, it recorded an increase of just 1.5 percent over that of 1987-88. Due to the improvement in agricultural production, the problem of the production of food has been greatly alleviated, but we have not yet stopped supplying food aid to the people.

Although the results of the implementation of the 1988-89 plan are very encouraging in general, due to the favorable weather conditions, the various economic problems are a source of great concern. Due to the deterioration in the industrial sector and our limited foreign currency resources, the shortage of basic consumer commodities has not yet abated.

The country's financial situation is deteriorating rather than improving. On top of this, securing external loans and aid for development has become harder than ever before. The repayment of principal and the servicing of interest are consuming most of our export earnings and our limited ability to generate foreign currency, our lack of efficiency, and our deteriorating productivity and profitability are major problems which cannot be improved very much.

The prices of those products which this country supplies to the international market have fallen. In this respect and in light of recent evidence, we are seriously concerned that the drastic fall in the price of coffee on the international market might exacerbate our economic problems. The price of a pound of coffee, which was \$1.27 earlier this year, has plummeted to 70 cents since June. I repeat: The price of a pound of coffee, which was \$1.27 earlier this year, has plummeted to 70 cents since June. According to some estimates the price will fall by a further 1.6 cents, or more, in the coming year. [end recording]

In the light of the situation we are in, the main aim of the plan is to prevent our economic problems from worsening. Hence the objectives for 1989-90, as with the previous plans, are to enhance food production, improve basic services, prevent the causes of natural problems, and develop socialist production, with special emphasis on strengthening our ability to generate foreign currency, said the comrade secretary general. He went on to say that appropriate support would be given to improving the supply of tools which would enhance productivity in order to realize the development goals in the agricultural sector.

Hence, work is under way on several projects in the areas of forestry, soil conservation, and irrigation development, with a view to improving the agricultural base. Elaborating on the 1989-90 plan for the various economic sectors, he said:

[Begin Mengistu recording] Total government development expenditure in the 1989-90 plan is 2,872,600,000 birr, of which 23.4 percent will go to agriculture and the development of natural resources, 18.7 percent to industry, 15 percent to transport and communications, and 12.3 percent to energy resources. The greater part of this budget has been allocated to the economic productive sectors, demonstrating the attention we are giving to the enhancement of the material foundation of the economic sector.

Comrades: I have tried to elaborate briefly the main points of the 1989-90 plan. It is clear that the practical implementation of this plan will take us a step forward, but we understand that we cannot solve our economic problems through a 1-year plan. In fact, if the current long rains are not satisfactory it is possible that our economic situation will become very grave. In addition, the damage the international coffee market crisis will bring to our economy, in terms of our ability to get foreign currency, cannot be viewed lightly.

An average international coffee market price of 70 cents per pound next year would result in a reduction of 240 million birr in our foreign exchange earnings and 140 million birr in government income. It is not difficult to guess the pressure a further decline in the price would place on our foreign exchange earnings and government income. It must be known that a shortage of foreign

exchange places a lot of pressure on economic development and management. It creates an imbalance between supply and demand with demand outstripping supply. Since it causes a shortage of imported industrial raw materials, it puts factories into a position where they cannot produce at full capacity. This reduces government income and leads to production losses.

Unless we realize that these and other local and foreign economic imbalances can present obstacles to our development and devise ways and means of facing these problems, our economic situation next year could be a source of greater concern to us. There is a need for greater effort in the economic sphere in 1989-90 so as to arrest and alleviate these economic problems, and the need for concerted and coordinated efforts in all economic sectors throughout the country—in order to enhance production and productivity, strengthen our ability to generate foreign exchange, alleviate the shortage of consumer commodities, increase government income, and open job opportunities—is decisive.

It is evident that more attention should be given to the enhancing of productivity so as to face the problems brought about by the decline in the international price of coffee.

In asking ourselves what alternative we have, we have to think of practical solutions based on the objective reality of the areas in question. Also, we have to understand that it is no good to focus on our weaker sides in isolation when we look for solutions to our problems. There is also nothing to be gained by wasting time pondering attractive ideas. Hence our program should be based on objective reality.

Inasmuch as industry is not yet developed in our country, we have to accept that the major production forces are those of land, manpower, and traditional labor. We have to understand that there is no wide alternative to agriculture if we are to face the economic problems consequent upon plummeting coffee prices. Even in the agricultural sector of the economy, production growth is determined by the effective man-hours spent in the field. Hence, in order to overcome the problems we face, we have to support the productive work force with plans and incentives so that they produce that which is wanted by the international market.

Therefore, we must give priority to increasing coffee production. The fall in the international price of coffee will, first and foremost, affect the farmers, so it is important to prevent the problem of reduced income to farmers. In this respect, the government is studying ways of supporting the coffee farmers. In accordance with this study, urgent steps will be taken by the government and it expects farmers to take care of their products and make special efforts to increase productivity, so as to limit the damage to themselves as well as to the country's economy.

Other steps should be taken in the agricultural sector to enable the farmers to produce, in a planned manner in

the 1989-90 long and short rainy seasons, export-oriented products like cereals, fruits, cotton, and the like. For this to be successful, the government organs concerned should, first and foremost, identify export-oriented products on the basis of studies. It will be necessary to give farmers price and market guarantees, based on these studies, so that farmers can produce to contract. This type of working system, in the long term, will assist farmers in concentrating on production of various types of produce. It will be necessary to prepare conditions for state farms, in the 1989-90 short and long rainy seasons, to produce that which will generate foreign exchange.

In recent years, the industrial sector has contributed to generating foreign exchange. This is a very encouraging trend. Hence, in the coming plan year we expect more effort in the hides and textile industries so as to supplement the foreign exchange deficit arising from the fall in coffee prices.

In the area of saving foreign exchange, workers should be encouraged to increase the production of spare parts within the country. At the same time, we need to increase the supply of agricultural raw materials and to establish contractual relations between state industries and individual farmers, as well as state farms, so as to encourage the replacement of produce bought with foreign exchange with local produce.

The mining sector is another part of the economy which we should focus on in order to enhance our ability to earn foreign exchange. In this respect, it is necessary to undertake special tasks to accelerate work on the Lege-dembi gold mining project and to increase the amount of gold produced through mechanization. We should make every effort to offset the losses we will suffer from the fall in coffee prices by closely monitoring the implementation of projects that, like that of minerals, will be completed in the coming years and will enable us to earn and save foreign exchange.

I do not think it necessary to elaborate upon the fact that another major weakness in our economy is lack of finance. Although the country's problem of finance emanates principally from low economic growth, our inability to fully utilize our production capacity has, without doubt, contributed to the problem. In this respect we should pay special attention to improving the profitability of state institutions in the coming plan year.

We are extremely concerned at the increasing numbers of state institutions that are going bankrupt. Though the bankruptcy of each institution has its own history, low productivity is the main cause. Therefore, it is crucial for the management and political organs of each institution to make coordinated efforts to cut production costs and increase productivity to improve profitability. In addition, we should do all we can to reduce state expenditure. In this respect, one of our tasks should be to evaluate continuously the government's organizational structure and administration to ensure that they are efficiently

organized in a manner that saves labor and expense, since it is not proper to allocate manpower just because the budget allows.

Therefore, even in the sector of government administration we should switch to a mode of work whereby efficient service can be given with limited manpower. It should be understood that we cannot solve our country's economic and social problems by increasing the number of workers in the superstructure, but rather through broadening the foundation of the economy. Hence, the deployment of manpower should be focused on increasing production, research, and [word indistinct] works. In the productive sector it is necessary to ensure that each additional worker contributes individually to the profitability and productivity of the institution. [end recording]

In line with the program approved by the second regular session of the National Shengo, to speed up the establishment of local organs of power and administration, party and government transitional organs have been set up in all autonomous and administrative areas, as well as at the provincial level in most areas, in 1988-89. The comrade secretary general explained that, based on the useful experiences gleaned from past elections, preparations are under way to conduct the elections to be held in 1989-90 in certain areas with increased efficiency. Among the main issues focused on by our party since the ninth regular session of our Central Committee is our country's foreign relations.

[Begin Mengistu recording] As is known, the nature of international development over the past few years has resulted in some trends of change in relations between countries. As we said when we assessed these trends at our last session, the position of socialist, democratic, and peace forces—which states that current relations between countries should not be based on balance of power, but should be based on peaceful competition and mutual interest and should be governed by a political approach free of political differences—is gaining increasing acceptance.

As a result of the changes in relations, the ongoing reduction of arms is encouraging. The tangible efforts made over the past few months, by socialist countries in particular, have been increasingly strong. In addition, the economic, cultural, scientific, and technological cooperation between the superpowers and between socialist and capitalist countries, in general, as well as the fostering of close relations between peoples, are showing rapid results. The efforts embarked upon to peacefully resolve conflicts in various parts of the world have, on the whole, been encouraging and have generated sparks of hope. When we look at the current trend in international relations, in general, we see that there is an increasing acceptance of the principle of peaceful coexistence and the scope for its implementation is widening. [end recording]

Although, it is some time now since most African countries achieved independence, some of them have been deprived of peace and stability and have not been able to focus on social development because of problems which are part of the colonial legacy. It is possible to say that the activities embarked upon evident in some areas of our continent to resolve these problems peacefully are encouraging. When we turn our attention to the Middle East, he said, the problems have not known much improvement. He said the following on East Africa:

[Begin Mengistu recording] The geo-political situation of our region, the East African region, attracts the attention of foreign forces. The countries of this region have many very complex problems which are the legacy of colonialism and backwardness. Ethiopia is of the belief that these countries have realized the degree to which these complex problems are affecting them and in particular the way in which the lack of peace, internal strife, and strained relations among themselves has hampered their efforts and ability to develop.

Inasmuch as Ethiopia and these neighboring countries are linked geographically, historically, by blood, culturally, by civilization, and by various economic relations and victories, their problems and development are related. Though solutions to their problems will be different according to the objective reality of the respective countries, it is clear that they need both concerted efforts and cooperation. Hence our stand is that, peace, good-neighborliness and joint cooperation are key and decisive preconditions for national development efforts by individual countries or for joint development activities.

Based on this stand, Ethiopia is making concerted efforts to secure respect for the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of nations, respect for the mutual interest of peoples based on the spirit of fraternity, and peaceful relations of good-neighborliness, with both neighboring countries and Middle Eastern countries. [end recording]

The comrade secretary general, after elaborating on the measures taken and on future measures in administrative areas, said the following in conclusion:

[Begin Mengistu recording] As I have repeatedly stated in this report, we have many decisive tasks ahead of us. The proper implementation of these tasks has a bearing on the success of our general objective. The decision by the Politburo to postpone our party's second congress by 1 year was necessitated after taking into consideration the situation with regard to the conditions I have mentioned.

Inasmuch as the coming year is a year in which our party congress will: make extensive assessments and preparations to arrive at directives that are beneficial to our future social development; set up the remaining area structures; give special attention to the implementation of the peace initiative; make greater efforts in the economic sector; and carry out other useful activities, it will

definitely be a year of great activity. Hence, in understanding that we are going to be faced with a great struggle in all directions, I urge all of you who are on the side of the working people to work with dedication for justice, equality, and development.

Thank you, Ethiopia first. [applause] [end recording]

Somalia

Government Announces Multi-Party System

E 43008212289 Mogadishu Domestic Service
in Somali 1700 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] A fully attended session of the Central Committee of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party [SRSP] was held last night at the party headquarters in Mogadishu under the chairmanship of the SRSP secretary general. Comrade Mohamed Siad Barre presented an agenda before the session, which stated that other political parties be allowed in Somalia. The party functionaries fully debated the agenda and finally reached the following conclusion:

1. That the formation of other political parties be allowed in the country and that their formation take place after the current term of the People's Assembly expires, that is after 16 months.
2. That a law be enacted on the formation of those parties and how they are to be run.
3. That the president of the Somali Democratic Republic [SDR] name a national committee which will prepare an amendment to the country's constitution.

The party secretary general, speaking at the session, said the time was now opportune to make the announcement, although it had been raised at the fifth session of the party's last congress. Comrade Siad Barre said that since the formation of other parties had been announced it became necessary to amend some of the country's laws, particularly the Constitution, and the organization of political parties had to be looked into again.

The SRSP secretary general and SDR President Siad Barre said it was imperative to start work on a program for reorganization to go with the country's economic program which had been proceeding for some time now.

The president said the implementation of this program required open-mindedness coupled with a sense of patriotism so that the country's political and economic security, could be resolved. Our major aim is to meet the needs and requirements of the people, which is our policy.

Comrade Mohamed Siad Barre said changes in the world were moving quite fast and therefore it was necessary for the Somali people to keep pace with those changes so that they may not be left behind in their development. SRSP secretary general Siad Barre also said that during the 21 years of the revolution, the masses had been able

to achieve great successes in many spheres and had reached heights which would have been impossible to achieve otherwise, although in these later years people had been diverted away from the aim set for them by the revolution, aspirations which were obvious to all. The president said it was usual for human beings to desire what appeared desirable for them at a particular moment, thus forgetting what they had been through. However, what the revolution had achieved was clear to all and could be proven.

Comrade Mohamed Siad Barre said [passage indistinct]. The SDR president, speaking on the country's political and economic program, said the aim of that program is to develop the country's economy and thus make the Somali people play their role and strengthen the country's ties with the outside world. Therefore, the Somali people were required to play their role in issues meant to uplift their well-being.

Uganda

Garang Seeks Museveni's Help in Peace Efforts

EJ3008203089 Kampala Domestic Service in English
1700 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] The leader of the SPLM and SPLA [Sudanese Peoples Liberation Movement/Army], Colonel John Garang, has expressed his movement's readiness to continue to interact with the Sudanese authorities in the search for peace in their country. Col Garang, who was delivering a public lecture at the international conference center in Kampala today, disclosed that he has already requested President Yoweri Museveni to intervene and persuade the new leadership in the Sudan to agree to come to a roundtable to discuss the peace program which has been tabled by his movement.

Last Monday, Col Garang met President Museveni in Mbale and briefed him on the peace process in Sudan.

The SPLA leader told the public who attended today's lecture that, on his part, the SPLM and SPLA is ready to meet with the new leaders of the Sudan in any capital. Following the 30th June coup in the Sudan, the SPLA/SPLM has proposed a number of [word indistinct] points to be included in the peace program. These include: the establishment of an interim, broad-based government in the Sudan, the establishment of a national army, the convening of a national constitutional conference, and the preparation of free and fair elections and the subsequent promulgation of a national constitution.

The colonel clarified that his movement is not opposed to the authorities in the Sudan suggesting other proposals, but stressed that any peace program must revolve on the context of a new Sudan. He said a new social and political ("education") must come about in the Sudan.

On the prospects for peace in the region, the SPLA leader said that prospects for peace are greater now than ever before.

Regarding a question on the Shari'ah law, the colonel clarified that he is not personally opposed to it, however adding that Shari'ah or Islamic law is a relationship between the believer and his creator. He said the SPLM believes that there should be separation of religion and the state.

Reacting to the peace program given by the new Sudanese leadership, which included among others an immediate cease-fire, the continuation of talks between the government and the SPLA, and that if the SPLA was opposed to Shari'ah, that it should be put to a referendum, Col Garang described this not as a program but as actions that should have been implemented if there had been an agreement. [sentence as heard]

* Guerrillas Request Cease-Fire in North

34000597h Kampala THE CITIZEN in English
21 Jun 89 pp 1, 6

[Article: "Now Rebel Leaders Want Ceasefire"]

[Text] The self declared rebel leaders have called upon the government to declare an unconditional ceasefire according to exile sources in London. At the same time the rebel leaders have in what is seen as an extremely cheeky proposal called upon the NRA [National Resistance Army] to withdraw from areas over which they claim to have control. But the sources could not identify these areas and how far they are controlled by rebels. And exile sources reacting to earlier press reports that General Tito Okello was due to return to Uganda said that ousted President General Tito Okello Lutwa would only return home after certain conditions had been fulfilled. According to observers the general is now believed to be an ace card in the war games of the rebel leaders.

The general is reported to be under strong influence of former foreign minister Olara Otunnu.

Former Prime Minister Eric Otema Allimadi (UPDM Chairman) and ex-minister of State for Defence Peter Ota also saying they want to be left with their weapons in addition to being assured that they will not be attacked by the NRA.

The rebel leaders are also reported not to be against the idea of peace talks so long as they are held in a neutral country and under the auspices of a body like the OAU. The rebel leaders, exile sources continued, want the RM [Resistance Movement] to respect the general amnesty declared by President Museveni. The rebel leaders believe that so far the amnesty has left a lot to be desired since captured or surrendering rebels are still held in prisons as lodgers.

Meanwhile, there are reports that there are splits within the ranks of the Uganda Democratic Alliance which had sought to bring together the rebel leaders. The sources said that the Uganda Freedom Movement (UFM) had

through a one Kirabira broken the alliance and reorganised itself under new leadership.

The sources said that the new leaders of UEM are Francis Bwengye and Fredrick Nsibirwa. It was further reported that UEM was reorganising its high command although no names were mentioned.

* Guerrilla Activities Escalate in Country

34000597c Kampala THE CITIZEN in English
12 Jul 89 pp 1-2

[Article: "Rebel Hysteria Grips Uganda"]

[Text] Tension remains in most parts of Uganda following reports that guerilla activities have broken out in even the most unlikely parts of the country. Latest on the list were parts in Mpigi district where government officials were openly told that many former soldiers had gone back to the bush because the NRM [National Resistance Movement] had not fulfilled the promises made to them. At the same time rebels were said to have made incursions into West Nile from a neighbouring country and reports said they were still roaming around. There was also tension in South Western Uganda with growing fears that an incursion could be made from a neighbouring country.

The current sense of insecurity began two weeks ago when confusion was reported in West Nile. According to reports, rebels believed to be in their hundreds (some sources put them at 800-1000) fully armed crossed into Uganda on Thursday 29.6.89. Some were dressed in the uniform of the defunct Army while others donned civilian attire. They spread into Koboko, Yumbe and Terego counties. Some went as far as 8 miles from Arua town to a place called Wandu near BAT factory. No incidents were reported on the first day of the incursion.

However, West Nile became virtually cut off from the rest of the country. There were fears that the area could be over-run by the rebels especially as there seemed to be no indication that NRA [National Resistance Army] was about to challenge them. A group of about 200 rebels moved as far as 100 miles away from Moyo town. Here they stopped the ministry of works Van, stripped its occupants naked and told them to go back to Moyo. Up to now the rebels had not met any challenge from NRA although some unconfirmed reports said that there had been a clash at Koboko Barracks.

Earlier the rebels had raided several UCB [Uganda Commercial Bank] Branches which included Omogo, Rhino Camp and Obongi. They managed to break into Obongi Branch and stole money. At the other two branches they only managed to overpower the guards and took away their guns.

By early this week the situation in the region was still tense. Travel to and from Arua could only be conducted through Gulu. NRA was said to be confirming itself mainly in the barracks. The group to which these rebels

belonged was not clear but there was strong suspicion that they had some connections with Idi Amin. Most of them were reportedly Kakwa while others came from Aringa. Some were former members of UNRF [Ugandan National Rescue Front] who were not absorbed into the NRA.

While all this was going on, there was another bombshell when residents in Mpigi District told government officials that former soldiers had gone back to the bush because NRM had degenerated on its promises. And over the weekend other government officials confirmed that rebel activities had sprang up in Mpigi District an area hitherto said to be extremely sympathetic to the NRM cause.

Speaking at Kasanje in Busiro county a number of NRC [National Resistance Council] officials showed concern over this trend.

Earlier the people of Butambala county said that people had been forced to go back to the bush because of abject poverty and because NRM had degenerated on its promises.

But most of the NRC members of the area dismissed these reasons saying that these who had gone to the bush were either opportunists or Obote's agents.

Mr. Israel Kayonde accused those who have gone to the bush as being pro-Obote. 'We still have Obote's agents and soldiers because UPC [Uganda People's Congress] Buganda was here and these people are still here.' Explained Mr. Kayonde 'DP [Democratic Party] is in power and there is no DP to go to the bush.' He challenged those who claimed that there was poverty to tell him whether any of them had lost any property during the NRM reign. 'Only those who supply air have been affected by the economic measures we have taken', he said.

Mrs. Zizinga said that the Baganda have no reason to go to the bush because they have more representatives in the government than any other nationality. She told the gathering that there were 25 Baganda Ministers and that out of the 38 NRM originals 15 were Baganda. Meanwhile, Ugandans are holding their breaths waiting for further elaboration from government officials on the issue.

* Dissident Group Reportedly Loses Popularity

34000601c Kampala THE NEW VISION in English
30 Jun 89 p 4

[Article: "Underground 'Prison' Reported in NRA Detach"]

[Text] An underground 'prison' (dungeon) in which allegedly criminal suspects are detained for months without being taken to courts of law has been reported in the NRA [National Resistance Army] detach at Maddu Sub-county in Gomba county Mpigi District.

It is reported that suspects and law breakers at times of minor offences including those of big offences such as stealing cattle are arrested by NRA soldiers and dumped in this underground "prison." Some of the detainees are said to have spent 2-4 months in this pit.

Government authorities in the area also confirmed this report and added that unless the government immediately intervened the NRM [National Resistance Movement] government is terribly losing its once good face amidst the residents of the area.

The pit used as a prison is said to have been an underground-water-tank built at Maddu Rest House. By the time we went to press an estimated number of 20 detainees were believed to be languishing in this dungeon.

However, sources revealed that whenever detach authorities hear of any visit of government officials detainees are removed and kept somewhere else only to be dumped back immediately they leave. Other suspects are released after paying ransom. It should be recalled that THE CITIZEN Vol. 6 No. 22 Week-Ending 21 Dec. 1988 reported a similar dungeon at the home of the DA Mpigi. However, after unearthing that information the detaining of suspects in the dungeon was stopped.

It has also been reported a new tractor under the authority of the RC III of Maddu Sub-county has been

completely wrecked almost beyond repair by the NRA soldiers who took it from RC 3. Captain Olanya is the detach commander.

This one is among the tractors the NRM government imported from Pakistan and were sold to RC IIIs in the country to boost agricultural produce. The tractors are being hired by farmers besides being used on the RC III projects of the respective sub-counties.

Authorities at Maddu NRA detach are said to have got the tractor from Maddu RC III on grounds that the tractor belonged to the government. Helpless RC III authorities had to abide to the military orders and released the tractor.

After the tractor had knocked, the military authorities returned the tractor, but the RC III have refused it because they can't pay for a tractor which has been damaged almost beyond repair by soldiers.

Meanwhile, detach authorities have written a strong letter to the Kabulasoke county RC III that they need their (RC III) tractor to use it to do their work. The RC III expressed fear that any time their tractor may be taken over by the military authorities at Maddu NRA detach. They appealed to the government to explain to them whether RC III tractors also belong to the army which was deposited at Maddu.

In another development the second in command of Maddu NRA detach is reported to have assaulted a wife of a resident for no obvious reason. This was cited as an example of the declining discipline of military personnel at Maddu NRA detach.

Police Detain Tutu's Wife During Women's March*MB3008133689 Umtata Capital Radio in English
1300 GMT 30 Aug 89*

[Text] A march of about 150 women has been stopped in central Cape Town. Rex Murrayfield reports the women gave themselves up for arrest when the march was stopped.

The women attended a church service at Greenmarket Square earlier this afternoon. After the service, a 150-strong group from the Federation of South African Women came marching away from the square. A large police contingent stopped the march and warned the demonstrators to disperse in terms of the emergency regulations. The women then sat down in the road, and police removed a number of placards.

When some of the women were ordered into a police truck, the rest of the group also gave themselves up, cheered on by a group of bystanders running into the hundreds. Among the demonstrators were Leah Tutu, wife of Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, and Mary Burton of the Black Sash.

Meanwhile, in Durban, police have arrested a number of antiapartheid activists. Carmel Rickard reports:

[Begin recording] Lawyers acting for three Durban activists told me police had confirmed they were holding their clients in emergency detention. The three are prominent Mass Democratic Movement representatives Trevor Bonhem of Newlands East, (Myrtle Bonoir), and Keith Joseph of Wentworth.

Bonhem's wife said police left with him after searching their home early this morning. He plays a prominent role in the publicity for next weekend's protest picnic, scheduled for the whites-only beaches of Durban. Bonhem was also a prominent figure in the recent anti-segregated hospitals protest. Last week, he sent the minister of law and order a letter informing him of the beach protest and giving details, and over the last fortnight, Bonhem has received a number of death threats by phone and by letter. [end recording]

Police Issue Statement*MB3008181589 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1549 GMT 30 Aug 89*

[Text] Pretoria, Aug 30, SAPA—Herewith a news media statement from the South African Police Public Relations Division, Pretoria:

During the morning of 1989-0830 a group of people gathered at the Methodist church, Burg Street, Cape Town. They left the and moved along Burg Street in the direction of Parliament. One the way they entered a building and at about 13:18 the women emerged and displayed placards. They were warned by the police to disperse.

At 13:23 when it became clear that they had no intention of dispersing, the women—between 200 and 250 of them—were arrested by the police.

They will be charged under the Gathering and Demonstrations Act, Act 52 of 1973.

On 1989-08-30 at about 07:20 a group of coloured students gathered illegally in Kimberley and displayed placards. Five men and three women were arrested.

Four incidents in which people were arrested were reported from Pretoria.

In Church Street, three black men were arrested after boarding a white bus.

In Strijdomplein, two similar incidents were reported in which two white women and two black men were arrested. In each incident, the white women boarded a white bus and purchased two tickets. One was given to a black man and both boarded the bus.

In Church Street, a black man and two black women were arrested after they boarded a white bus.

Note: the blacks arrested were charged in terms of Section 18 of Act 17 of 1956 (Riotous Assemblies Act) read with Section 58 of Act 74 of 1982 (Internal Security Act).

The white women were charged in terms of Section 59 of the Internal Security Act, Act 74 of 1982 (incitement to commit an offence ...).

Police Raid Trade Union Council's Office 30 Aug*MB3008120989 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1118 GMT 30 Aug 89*

[By Neil Lewis]

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 30 SAPA—A large contingent of heavily-armed police today raided a NACTU [National Council of Trade Unions] union's offices in Boksburg on the East Rand and confiscated several documents as speculation increased of a planned national stay-away in protest against the September 6 elections.

Confirming the incident, NACTU's general secretary, Mr Piroshaw Camay, told SAPA about 50 police entered the Food and Beverage Workers Unions offices at a Unilever plant in the town. "The police displayed a search warrant that gave them the right to go through the offices for banned literature and anti-election pamphlets they claimed we were in the process of printing."

Mr Camay said the NACTU head office was informed of the police action and leading officials then rushed to the offices with a legal adviser. Among the union officials present was NACTU president, Mr James Mndaweni.

After a verbal confrontation, the authorities withdrew with the confiscated items, but warned that further action could be taken against the federation and its affiliates.

"This was clearly a case of intimidation by the police. But we have shown that in an eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation, we will come out best," said the NACTU secretary.

Initial reports that the police had gone to the offices to arrest Mr Mndaweni proved false.

A police official, Lt J.A. van Zwiell, confirmed that a "police offensive at the Food and Beverage Workers Union" had been staged.

"Investigations are continuing," she said.

A spokesman for Van den Bergh and Jurgens—which runs the plant under the auspices of Unilever—said the company deployed "this intrusion onto its site".

"At about 1000 this morning, members of the SA [South Africa] Police arrived in several vehicles at the Van den Bergh factory. Several workers registered their disapproval by chanting during the police presence, but there were no incidents."

The raid on the offices comes as tension continues to rise around the September 6 elections and in the wake of the defiance campaign organized by the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM).

Soweto Students 'Avenge' Deaths of Colleagues

*MB3108090189 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0855 GMT 31 Aug 89*

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 31 SAPA—Mobs of Soweto students have been on the rampage in the township for the past two days out to avenge the deaths of colleagues killed in brawls.

Police arrested 110 students from the Soweto College of Education yesterday after the mob attacked and burnt down a Rockville home where a colleague was allegedly assaulted.

Police are investigating charges of arson, malicious damage to property, assault and kidnapping against the students.

Another mob attacked a home in Mapetla where Clement Pule Kgatle, a student at the Hlengiwe High School, was killed on Saturday [26 Aug].

A group of pupils burnt down a car belonging to school inspector of the Diep-Alex circuit at Diepkloof's Fidelitas Secondary School.

Police Take Action on Bus Defiance Campaigners

*MB3008123489 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1001 GMT 30 Aug 89*

[Text] Pretoria Aug 30 SAPA—Police today took action against members of the Pretoria bus defiance campaign, which has entered its third day.

A campaign organiser said two men were taken to the Pretoria North Police Station after about 20 campaigners were body-searched in Rachel De Beer Street, Pretoria North.

The men had refused to give their names to the police.

On Monday, three men were arrested when they tried to board a Rietfontein bus in Church Street.

Organisers of the seven-day "Standing for Truth" campaign, aimed at desegregating public transport, have changed their strategy following these and earlier incidents, which included arrests, shootings, death threats and petrol bombings.

They said today they had scaled down target points from six to three.

Instead of trying to board whites-only buses during peak hours, members of the campaign are now also targetting municipal buses at other times of the day.

The three campaigners arrested on Monday are due to appear in court today.

A police spokesman, Colonel Vic Haynes, said the men would face charges of conspiracy to campaign against a law or to have it repealed.

Today white bus commuters waiting at the municipal bus stop near the corner of Rachel de Beer and Danie Theron Streets in Pretoria North walked two blocks to board a city-bound bus after two mini-bus loads of black campaigners joined the bus queue.

Police told the black campaigners they were not allowed to get on the bus.

At one point they ordered the campaigners to get out of their mini-buses and body-searched them.

Tempers flared today when members of the Laudium Youth Congress briefly boarded a Westpark 2 bus

An incident was avoided when the protestors voluntarily got off the bus.

Election Disruption 'Terror Network' Uncovered

*MB3108094389 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0939 GMT 31 Aug 89*

[Text] Pretoria Aug 31 SAPA—Police have smashed a terror network that included terrorists who had entered the country solely to disrupt the elections, the acting state president, Mr F.W. de Klerk, announced in Pretoria today.

Dr de Klerk told a parade at the police college that nine ANC [African National Congress] terrorists and 10 collaborators had been arrested the past week.

Police seized a "big quantity" of terror weaponry of Russian origin, including limpet mines, hand grenades and AK47 rifles.

"Information indicates that some of these terrorists entered the country solely to disrupt the elections" Mr de Klerk said.

The possibility that some of the terrorists had been involved in several acts of terror recently was being investigated, he said.

A police spokesman said he was not at liberty to divulge where the arrests had been made.

People Planning To Disrupt Elections Detained

MB3108054089 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0538 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Text] Pretoria Aug 31 SAPA—The Department of Law and Order has confirmed that a number of people, including those wanting to disrupt the general election, have been detained throughout the country in the past 24 hours. SABC Radio news reports.

A spokesman for the department, Brigadier Leon Mellet, said the detentions were not aimed particularly at the MDM [Mass Democratic Movement].

He said the action had been taken against those who had disregarded restriction orders and those who had threatened public safety. Police had also held certain people for questioning about the planned disruption of the election.

The head of the police Public Relations Division, Gen Herman Stadler, confirmed in Pretoria that there had been "quite a number" of arrests of people who had allegedly been involved in "incidents of unrest" and who had contravened the restriction orders.

Students Boycott Classes Over Elections

MB3108082289 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0820 GMT 31 Aug 89

[By Neil Lewis]

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 31 SAPA—More than 3,000 coloured pupils at four high schools in Johannesburg today mounted a boycott of classes in protest against the September 6 elections.

Principals at Eldorado Park, Kliptown and CJB [Chris Jan Botha] senior secondary schools have confirmed that a general stayaway is underway.

There are no pupils at our school today. Only the teachers are here in the staffroom or in their classes. From what we have heard, the pupils are boycotting

because of the election and the defiance campaign of the MDM [Mass Democratic Movement]," said CJB principal, Mr Reggie Feldman.

Mr Stanley Scofield of Kliptown High School said scores of pupils had remained away from classes today. "A general stayaway is taking place here, but we are certain the situation will return to normal soon."

It is understood hundreds of pupils have begun making their way to St Barnabas College in Bosmont to stage a peaceful demonstration against the ballot on the school lawns.

But the principal of the college, Mr Michael Cork, could not confirm the planned demonstration. He was holding a meeting with senior pupils.

The boycott at the coloured schools has taken place against the backdrop of growing tension over the elections.

Major anti-apartheid organisations are due to announce the dates and duration of planned action later today.

A further two schools in coloured townships around Johannesburg have joined a boycott of classes bringing to about 4,500 the total number of pupils out of their classes.

The two schools are Westbury and Coronationville Senior Secondary schools.

A source told SAPA that the boycott was initially supposed to take place yesterday but was postponed due to a lack of consultation between the various student representative councils.

Students held a meeting last night to finalise details of the protest.

ANC Calls for Boycott of Elections

EA3008210889 Addis Ababa Radio Freedom
in English to South Africa 1900 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] [Announcer] Tonight, dear compatriots, in our commentary in the English, Zulu, and Sotho languages we say: Forward to a week of militant mass action against apartheid.

Compatriots, the week leading up to the holding of the triracial elections in our country will prove to be the greatest milestone in our struggle to free our country from racist tyranny and establish true democracy in our country. As a response to these racist elections, which are a crime to our people, and as a response to all other injustices of the apartheid system, the Mass Democratic Movement, supported by our vanguard movement, the African National Congress [ANC], has called for a week-long militant mass action from all patriots and democrats.

For us, this will be a moment of decision. We shall determine through action whether we continue to live

under apartheid or move our country to democracy as is acceptable internationally. We intend to demonstrate through action our rejection of apartheid. We intend to dismantle apartheid on our own and not wait for the apartheid regime to say that it will do away with this criminal system.

To everyone, the issue will be whether we remain silent and inactive at a time when the majority is excluded from choosing true representatives to govern our country. We shall demonstrate that these elections have no relevance to the majority of the people in our country and that they are about which racists should rule the country without a mandate. To us, all the oppressed black majority, the issue will be whether we allow a handful of puppets in the coloured and Indian sections of the oppressed to tread the road of treachery, masquerading as representatives of the people when we have in fact said they do not represent us.

We are clear, therefore, that as we rejected them 5 years ago when we launched an overwhelming boycott of the triracial election, we shall (?also) continue to demonstrate that rejection. Only, this time, our actions shall confirm a louder rejection of these sell-outs who [word indistinct] lost their [word indistinct]. To reject them, therefore, will be to persuade every one of the oppressed, through action, not to be party, not to vote, towards the [words indistinct] of entrenching white minority rule over the black majority.

Our objective is that the apartheid regime and its puppets should not get any vote this time. We reject the very idea that the apartheid elections will push us further to the road of justice and democracy. When we say they must not get votes, we mean that no one of us must vote, for to do so will be to legitimize apartheid. Our vote against apartheid will not and should not be in the polling booths because no one of the apartheid candidates has the interest of the people at heart. As events have proved in the past 5 years of the triracial parliament, these are just puppets who only are greedy for money and for property which they have accrued from their sell-out. To reject them will mean that we shall vote in the streets of our country. We shall vote against apartheid by taking on militant action as called for by the true representatives of the people of South Africa, the ANC, and the Mass Democratic Movement. We shall—as we must—ensure that the entire country boils with revolt.

Workers, as we have been preparing to, we must (?plunge) the entire economy of apartheid to a standstill by engaging in prolonged industrial action not yet seen in our country. We must paralyze all the administrative structures of apartheid, as students and professional people, civil servants and other employees. The objective is to strike a blow against apartheid and for freedom.

In the Bantustans, the puppet municipal councils in the African, colored and Indian and even in the White areas, must be made inoperational, as every one of us takes

forward the message of resistance and defiance. The call of the Mass Democratic Movement is, simply: Don't work. As part of our week-long militant action against apartheid we must spread the actions of defiance to every apartheid facility, to every segregated beach, school, or hospital. We must take our actions to the apartheid polling booth to demonstrate that our country's future shall not be determined by a minority that will be voting, but our future lies in the masses that will be engaged in action throughout the week leading to the racist election day.

Furthermore, as has already been the case, apartheid regime [words indistinct] to stop our actions through violence. The regime (?will) intensify the orchestrated violence in (?Springs), [name indistinct], Cape Town, and Athlone. Our response should, therefore, be to refuse to be cowed by this enemy violence. We must continue with defiance of this violence. At the same time we cannot remain passive when the enemy has unleashed violence on us. The imperative is to defend ourselves, to defend our right to struggle against that which we have defined as unjust and irrelevant to the people of South Africa. We therefore must [words indistinct] to stop the violence which the apartheid regime intends to unleash even greater [as heard]. We must feed the combatants of Umkhonto We Sizwe, whose sole task is to defend the people. A week of action is a week for striking decisive blows against apartheid.

You too, dear compatriots, you have a democratic national service to perform. You too must engage in militant action that will be coordinated and intensified to deal a blow for freedom. The call to us all is: Don't vote, [words indistinct], don't work, [words indistinct]. At every factory floor the silence of the machine must be felt. The machines must be silenced. The (?picks) and hammers must not be heard. Forward to militant mass action; forward to freedom.

Police Ban Witwatersrand University Rally

*MB3108100089 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0955 GMT 31 Aug 89*

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 31 SAPA—Police today banned a student mass defiance rally at the University of the Witwatersrand in terms of security regulations.

Armed police swooped on the campus only minutes after the rally was due to start and ordered students to abandon the meeting and disperse.

A police officer told the students over a megaphone of the order banning the meeting and threatening to use force if they defied it.

About three riot police walked towards a group of singing students and fired at least four teargas canisters. The students fled.

The students were preparing to gather in another hall but they did not say whether they would defy the ban and go ahead with the rally.

Impala MK2 Aircraft Crashes Near Bergriver

*MB3108100789 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1004 GMT 31 Aug 89*

[Text] Pretoria Aug 31 SAPA—An Impala MK2 aircraft crashed north of Langebaanweg near the Bergriver in the early hours of the morning, the SA [South African] Air Force said today.

According to a statement from the SA Air Force headquarters, the chief of the Air Force, Lt-Gen J.P.B. van Loggerenberg, said the pilot ejected safely and sustained only minor injuries.

A board of inquiry has been instituted to investigate the accident the statement added.

ANC's Tambo Reportedly Suffers 'Brain Spasm'

*MB3008141289 Umtata Capital Radio in English
1400 GMT 30 Aug 89*

[Text] ANC [African National Congress] President Oliver Tambo suffered a brain spasm which has impaired movement on the right side of his body.

Tambo was admitted to hospital in London 2 weeks ago with the ANC saying he was suffering from exhaustion and rumors saying he had suffered a stroke.

An ANC official says Tambo is in a stable condition in hospital.

Said Making 'Full Recovery'

*LD3008162289 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English
1509 GMT 30 Aug 89*

[Text] African National Congress President Oliver Tambo, 71, was said by an aide today to be making a full recovery in a private London hospital from a brain spasm.

De Klerk, Lesotho's Lekhanya Comment After Talks

*MB3008194289 Johannesburg Television Service
in English 1600 GMT 30 Aug 89*

[Text] The acting state president and the head of the military council in Lesotho, Major General Metsing Lekhanya, met in Pretoria this afternoon for talks on development in the subregion.

The talks also focused on problems surrounding the interpretation of the Lesotho Highlands water scheme agreement. Foreign Minister Pik Botha told newsmen this afternoon that differences had been ironed out.

Mr F.W. de Klerk gave his general impressions of the talks so far with four African leaders in less than a week:

[Begin video recording] [De Klerk] I was struck by one general theme and that is the realization amongst leaders in southern Africa that cooperation in southern African can only be to the benefit of the whole region and all its component parts.

I, therefore, sincerely believe that there is a positive foundation on which to build extension of cooperation, especially in the economic sphere and that there is a wish, that I found everywhere, amongst all leaders that we should the climate which is now ripe to really follow this up and to assure that we make progress. [sentence as heard]

[Reporter] General, do you confer with that?

[Lekhanya] I do, yes.

[Reporter] Would you comment on that please?

[Lekhanya] One more point I can add is that it has been also of Lesotho's policy, that of dialogue, these initiatives and incentives that have been taken towards involving all the leaders of the subregion and everyone to try and reach solutions and iron out whatever differences. To us also this has been a very good move, and we think out of it can only come success and understanding between countries. [end recording]

De Klerk Seeks 'Southern African Initiative'

*MB3008160189 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1515 GMT 30 Aug 89*

[Text] Pretoria, Aug 30, SAPA—The acting state president, Mr F.W. de Klerk, said today the "positive reception" African leaders had given him indicated that a "southern African initiative" might materialise.

Dr de Klerk was addressing a news conference in Pretoria after he and the minister of foreign affairs, Mr Pik Botha, held talks with the leader of Lesotho's ruling military council, Gen Metsing Lekhanya.

Mr de Klerk said his visits into southern Africa had been extremely useful because they afforded South Africa an opportunity of presenting its views on cooperation in the subcontinent.

"I have no specific trips into southern Africa on my agenda at the moment, though I know that a number of leaders await the outcome of the election.

"They expect my party to win and there is a wish by quite a number of leaders to meet me after the election."

Mr de Klerk said his positive reception was "an indication for a southern African initiative to materialise."

He had been struck that the leaders he met believed that cooperation in southern Africa could only benefit the whole region.

There was a foundation to build on in the economic sphere, he said, and the leaders he met wished to use the climate for following this up.

Pik Botha on 'Intimidation' of Black Leaders

*MB3008090489 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 0500 GMT 30 Aug 89*

[Text] The minister of foreign affairs, Mr Pik Botha, says fear of intimidation among black leaders is one of the main stumbling blocks in the way of open negotiation in South Africa. Mr Botha was speaking at a public meeting in Durban yesterday evening. He said that despite this fear, black leaders were negotiating with the government behind closed doors. He said it was a pity that black leaders entering into dialogue with the government were viewed negatively, while the proponents of violence were seen as the true leaders.

The meeting marked the end of the National Party's election campaign in Natal. Mr Botha said the time had come to examine seriously the methods of the ANC [African National Congress] and its followers, such as the MDM [Mass Democratic Movement]. He said there would not be an end to confrontation as long as black leaders remained unwilling to enter into open dialogue. Mr Botha appealed to all South Africans to move closer together so that they could become more familiar with one another's values.

Malan Says ANC Directs Mass Democratic Movement

*MB2908125589 Johannesburg Television Service
in Afrikaans 0530 GMT 29 Aug 89*

[Text] Defense Minister General Magnus Malan says evidence indicates the so-called Mass Democratic Movement [MDM] gets its orders directly from the ANC [African National Congress]. Gen Malan was speaking at a public meeting at Louis Trichardt last evening.

He said those who want to scuttle a peaceful solution in South Africa must take note of the facts.

Gen Malan said that just as with the policy of the ANC, there is nothing democratic about the goals of the MDM. He said at present there are attempts within the MDM to revive the End Conscription Campaign, and to create a new organization with the same goals under the banner of the MDM, the United Democratic Front, and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

Gen Malan said the dilemma of the current political debate is that leftists and revolutionaries are cheapening the concept of democracy. He said there are several international groups, people, and organizations which hide behind the name Democratic Movement.

The minister gave the assurance that the government was prepared and would not allow the situation to get out of hand. He said the government would not allow the situation to return to that of the mid-eighties when

rioting, destruction, and chaos was the order of the day in most black residential areas.

Party Leaders Discuss Mass Democratic Movement

*MB3008162489 Johannesburg International Service
in English 1500 GMT 30 Aug 89*

[From the "Africa South" program]

[Text] Radicalism has been raised in a number of recent election speeches.

The protest actions of the self-styled Mass Democratic Movement [MDM] attracted special attention in several of the speeches, and the opinions expressed ranged from outright condemnation to understanding for the actions.

The leader of the Conservative Party [CP], Dr Andries Treurnicht, said the MDM was not a truly democratic movement, when he addressed a meeting at Welkom.

[Begin Treurnicht recording] The MDM's assumption of a mass democracy is false and contrary to (reality). I say it is false and contrary to reality. South Africa's population is not merely a society of 30 million individuals, but it is a society of communities, with their own histories, their own culture, political ideals, and claims. If you force together disparate communities, if you force them together in a unitary system, it is an act of tyranny and not the introduction of democracy. If the so-called MDM crashes gates, disregards the claims of specific communities to their own facilities and residential areas, it is no democratic movement, but a dictatorship of the masses, not democracy, but a dictatorship of the masses. No government which accepted responsibility to protect the rights and the freedoms of corporations or communities, no such government can surrender to undemocratic and revolutionary demands. Only the CP's policy of separate freedoms for various communities can safeguard the communities from being swamped and overrun. Those are my comments on the MDM. It is a dangerous movement; it is not a democratic movement; it means mass domination. [end recording]

At Oudtshoorn, the leader of the Labor Party [LP], Rev Allan Hendrickse, said the MDM was entitled to differ from his party on the strategy to be adopted to achieve a new South Africa, but his party demanded its democratic right to pursue its strategy. The LP could not be condemned for following the path of peace.

[Begin Hendrickse recording] It is important that we realize that our future lies in togetherness. Therefore, we demand the right to exercise our strategy in terms of bringing about change in South Africa. We welcome the whole question of detente, because we say that the only way we're going to find solutions is by standing together, taking hands, talking together, and finding common solutions. To this end, the LP binds itself that we will talk with and to all people, to bring about a new South Africa in which people will be more important than the

racism of the past. We do find ourselves in the Catch-22 situation where both the police and our students and teachers and young people are involved. We dare not condemn anybody; we dare not condemn the police; we dare not condemn the students. But, what we do condemn is the fact that the apartheid ideology which is being practiced and, as was manifested last Saturday [26 Aug], the fact that police are there to defend apartheid can no longer be tolerated. [end recording]

The acting state president and leader of the National Party [NP], Mr F. W. de Klerk, speaking at Newcastle, expressed concern at radicalism and said the Democratic Party [DP] could not stand up to it.

[Begin De Klerk recording] What about the silent majority? What about the millions and millions, and I can prove through scientific analysis, the overwhelming majority of black people who seek peaceful solutions? Who reject violence? What about the black leaders who have risked the wrath of the radicalists by working for change through participation? I say that the DP does not have the will or the capability to remain standing and to show resistance against radicalism in South Africa; therefore, they are dangerous. Even now, with the democratic process being threatened by the so-called MDM, they continue to make excuses for the MDM. This morning, a joint statement of the troika pointed the finger at whom? Primarily at the South African Police. Ladies and gentlemen, democracy cannot be upheld if radicalists are allowed to intimidate and to violate the laws of the country. [end recording]

For his part, a co-leader of the DP, Dr Zach de Beer, who was addressing a meeting at Muizenberg, was critical of racism and argued that injustice led to violence.

[Begin De Beer recording] After all, if the so-called colored people are bitter, resentful, enraged, what does that really matter to the NP? It may mean a little trouble for Mr Allan Hendrickse, but since the brown people are excluded from the white house of Parliament, who cares? They cannot vote the NP out. Let me now talk about the DP in relation to these events. The DP does not condone, and never has condoned, the use of violence as a political weapon by anybody. But, equally, the DP will never have anything to do with any policy, any proposal, any philosophy which determines a person's rights by reference to skin color. Even more simply, the DP stands for justice, and the racialism for which Mr de Klerk and the NP stand is not compatible with justice. And just as a man who is starving may wrongly steal a loaf of bread, so, sooner or later, the people upon whom rank injustice and race discrimination are inflicted year after year will sooner or later break out in demonstrations. That is what we have been seeing these past days and so often before. My mind goes back to other episodes, all the way to Sharpeville. Nearly 30 years ago, I hear Jan Steytler crying out in Parliament at that time: You say you stand for law and order, but what sort of law and what sort of order? And I ask Mr F.W. de Klerk tonight: Is this the sort of law and order you want? When you send your

police in with dogs and sjamboks to chase brown people off white beaches? Is that your new, unique form of democracy? [end recording]

30 Aug Press Review on Current Problems, Issues MB3008114289

[Editorial Report]

THE CITIZEN

Talks With Kaunda Not Giving ANC 'Status'—Referring to F.W. de Klerk's meeting with Zambian President Kaunda in Livingstone, Zambia, Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 30 August says in its page 6 editorial "nothing that happened in Livingstone gives the ANC [African National Congress] more status, since the ANC did not come into the talks." "The talks in Livingstone, as indeed Mr de Klerk's talks with President Chissano of Mozambique and President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, have shown that Mr de Klerk is a resourceful, resilient and strong leader who has the ability to stand his man." This is "another reason why he deserves the chance to put his plans into practice. For Mr de Klerk, as a statesman, is going to play a major role in the sub-continent affairs."

THE STAR

Editorial Notes Importance of State-ANC Talks—"Too diplomatically, President Kaunda chose not to press the OAU-backed ANC settlement plan for South Africa's internal problems," notes Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 30 August in a page 10 editorial. "Perhaps to avoid embarrassing Mr de Klerk on first acquaintance, he missed an opportunity of pressing an issue that needs to be pressed: the importance of getting the Government and the ANC involved in talks. Now that the ice has been broken, we look forward to more substantive talks soon. One-off meetings, as former President John Vorster demonstrated, are not an end in themselves."

BUSINESS DAY

Cabinet Support Needed for Curb on Inflation—"Even allowing for the new-broom syndrome, the Reserve Bank's new governor Chris Stals seems quite brimming with determination to attack the Augean stables of inflation," says a page 10 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 30 August. "The monetary authorities, for their part, are committed to positive real interest rates, money stock growth in targeted limits, and strengthened foreign reserves. It looks good, but the history of inflation-fighting hangs over Stals. He will need more than steely resolve to see his plan through; he will need luck and the selfless support of the Cabinet."

SOWETAN

F.W. de Klerk Words 'Ring Hollow'—Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 30 August in its page 8 editorial comments on the "violence" of the White Wolves "when they fired shots at the homes of the

organisers of the 'Stand for Truth' campaign in Pretoria, throwing a petrol bomb at the home of a member of the Students for Democracy, hurling bricks at the home of a member of the Transvaal Indian Congress, and telephoning threats to other people." The incidents "will make many wonder why the police are taking so long to apprehend this group, if it is one group. It is at a time when such gangs are roaming the streets of our cities that F.W. de Klerk goes out to sweet-talk Africa into accepting South Africa as one of the nobler members of the family of nations in this region. His words must ring hollow as he comes back after a meeting with Kaunda to join in the attacks against the MDM [Mass Democratic Movement]."

TRANSVALER

'Chaos', Decline of Morals Communist Recipe—Johannesburg TRANSVALER in Afrikaans on 28 August in a page 6 editorial says the actual motive for the conflict caused by "black radicals" is a "barely concealed political revenge that has its origins in the ANC and the South African Communist Party objectives. So no responsible authority can handle this situation with only its left hand. It requires firm action, or else one can only expect chaos and a general decline of morals. That is the acknowledged recipe of the communists, and that is what the MDM is busy with under the guise of peaceful protest."

BEELD

CP Resolution 435 'Hypocrisy'—"The leaders of the Conservative Party (CP) betray their political hypocrisy by trying to conceal their participation in Resolution 435," says Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans on 29 August in a page 12 editorial. "Andries Treurnicht and Ferdi Hartzenberg's excuse that they were only deputy ministers when Resolution 435 was accepted by the Cabinet is true. However, they, and many other CP leaders, were members of the NP caucus at that stage. If they did not agree with Resolution 435 why did they not resign from the caucus and the NP?"

DIE REPUBLIKEIN

Criticism of SWAPO Request To Postpone Election—Windhoek DIE REPUBLIKEIN in Afrikaans on 28 August in its page 4 editorial says "it is absolute nonsense to try to postpone the election due to tactical party politics, like the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) faction tried to do in Ovambo last week." DIE REPUBLIKEIN asks whether SWAPO realizes "an election process cannot be abandoned because of the particular circumstances of one of the participating parties." "We accepted Resolution 435 provided for one of the longest election campaigns of the century," but "it is still not enough for SWAPO. It is resisting with the dumbest of dumb requests. It is as clear as daylight that this is all about SWAPO and not about Namibia. It is time SWAPO is disciplined and told what it can and cannot do. If it wants to remain a factor it should play within the rules of the game."

WINDHOEK OBSERVER

Namibian Election 'Circus'—Windhoek WINDHOEK OBSERVER in English on 26 August in a page 10 editorial comments on the "self-appointed group of emissaries" who fly into Namibia to "proffer advice, and counsel." "South-West Africa is not in need of such condescension. Spare us the plastic affability of those wealthy in money and poor in understanding and vision. The fatherland here is certainly in need of goodwill, and even of assistance. But towering above all these puny factors is the need for a powerful leader and his political movement which, like the uncompromising adventurer sweeping a woman off her feet, can take care of the country." "Perhaps it is also true that the conditions these visitors find here, inspire them to join in the circus and to try to outdo the local clowns."

* Text of Cosatu, UDF, ANC Zambia Report

34000761a Johannesburg THE STAR in English
20 Jul 89 p 2M

[First paragraph was boxed-in area in article.]

[Text] The ANC [Africa National Congress], UDF [United Democratic Front] and Cosatu [Congress of South African Students] concede, in a study document drawn up in Lusaka, that there are clear signs that the South African Government "will make positive steps towards negotiations and towards meeting the preconditions set (by the ANC) in 1987." The document outlines a plan to recapture the initiative. Here is the full text of the document as it will be published in the next issue of the London-based publication FRONT FILE.

This is the full text of the official report of a two-day meeting in Lusaka, Zambia, on 6 June 1989 between the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), executive members of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the full National Executive Committee of the African National Congress (ANC).

It is the official record of the consultations and has been distributed on a confidential basis to those who attended. It is intended to serve as a study document for the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM). It reads:

"The meeting dealt with the key issues facing our struggle. The agenda covered the following issues:

1. Assessment
2. Negotiation (for a political settlement)
3. Way Forward (Campaign)."

1. Assessment

A presentation from the Mass Democratic Movement (ANC, UDF, Cosatu etc.) covered the question of the crisis facing the regime, its inability to find a direction to

break out of the crisis and the growing unity and confidence of the Mass Democratic Movement. Several weaknesses of the Mass Democratic Movement were also raised, viz. our inability to effectively implement programmes of action, ineffective communication with grassroots levels, our dependence on foreign funds, our failure to make use of favourable conditions, and our inability to effectively counter enemy propaganda.

In summary on this point we concluded that our strategic perspective remains one of offensive action against the regime, and that the "volcanic material" of an upsurge is building up. We need to ensure, therefore, that our programme of action is capable of firing up the imagination of the people and building up action to increasingly higher levels.

2. Negotiations

Our discussions on this issue produced the following general perspective.

In 1987, when the issue of negotiations was receiving much attention internationally, the ANC made its stand clear, that is, that it could not consider negotiations unless certain preconditions were fulfilled. For example, that political prisoners should be released, the state of emergency should be lifted, etc.

The apartheid regime was not prepared to make any move and the whole issue of negotiations subsided.

Recently, however, as a result of the increasing pressure being placed on the regime from all quarters and as a result of initiatives being taken by imperialist forces, the issue of negotiations has arisen again. There are clear signs that this time the regime will make positive steps towards negotiations and towards meeting the preconditions set in 1987.

As a result it is necessary for us to collectively review our position on negotiations. Our perspective in doing so is to find the appropriate response that fends off this initiative in a manner that:

- Does not create confusion or division in our ranks.
- Does not result in the demobilisation of the masses.
- Does not result in any lessening of pressure from the international area.
- Results in us maintaining the initiative against the regime.

It is necessary also to maintain the perspective of continuing on all fronts with mass action and resistance in general, as the discussion around negotiations is not seen as an alternative approach to struggle.

Information regarding negotiation initiatives.

2.1 British

Britain has been preparing for Mr P. W. Botha's departure. They have been cultivating links with blacks, white liberals, businessmen, etc.

The Foreign Office also wants to establish links with the Mass Democratic Movement and the ANC, but Downing Street believes that a solution can be found without the ANC.

2.2 United States of America

The Americans want to initiate a process of "contact, dialogue and negotiation." They believe objectives for such a process of negotiation will develop in the course of meetings. They believe this is what happened in the negotiations over Angola and Namibia.

2.3 Pik botha/Thatcher Meeting

Mr Pik Botha told Mrs Thatcher the reformers in the Cabinet have the upper hand. Mr F.W. de Klerk's Transvaal base is reduced and as a result he has to rely more heavily on the "reformers." The reformers want Mrs Thatcher to influence Africans to enter the process of elections, etc.

2.4 Contact Group Idea

Britain does not support far-reaching changes. It is considering initiating a new contact group. Such a contact group would have to consist of representatives of the big powers. When the Eminent Persons' Group (EPG) initiative was established, the ANC argued that the regime was not ready for negotiations. Nevertheless, despite pressure, the EPG still came to South Africa.

The question of what our response to this type of initiative could be needs to be considered again in the light of current conditions.

2.5 F. W.'s Plan for a 'Representative Forum'

Mr F. W. de Klerk is working on a proposal to have negotiations without the ANC. He is planning some kind of "representative forum" of all race groups which is likely to be set up quite soon. At the point of the establishment of this forum, it is anticipated that Mrs Thatcher will move to give South Africa access to the world. Her campaign against sanctions will take on a new intensity. Presently there is already some kind of anti-sanctions campaign.

2.6 Frontline States

Zambia has a predisposition towards negotiation and has already stated its desire, should South Africa establish its bona fides, to invite South Africa to a Frontline States meeting. Mozambique and South Africa already have much contact and Comrade Eduardo dos Santos has said—in response to the view that we must be in a position of strength before we enter negotiations—that "we may not have the time to develop that position of strength."

There have been indications of large amounts of aid that could be given to the Frontline states to re-build their economies should the South African "issue" be resolved. One factor preventing that at the moment is the constant

destabilisation caused by south Africa. The pressure this places on the Frontline states to be sympathetic to any kind of political settlement is obvious.

The role played by the Frontline states in ensuring that the Zimbabweans continued with the Lancaster House settlement needs to be remembered.

Part of Mrs Thatcher's mission in southern Africa recently was to win support from the Frontline states for her planned initiatives.

2.7 Other Allies

At a recent meeting between the Chinese and our comrades, the Chinese made a distinction between the ending of apartheid and the ending of white rule. Their view was that we should be prepared to move slowly and accept modification of the status quo as a starting point.

There are indications from the Soviet Union that they would be prepared to work for a peaceful settlement of the South African issue side-by-side with the West.

The contact group being proposed by Mrs Thatcher could include some of our closest friends.

The state of emergency will be lifted after the September elections. Comrade Mandela and other high-profile political prisoners will be released (Comrade Walter Sisulu is expected to be released very soon, well before the elections), legislation to be passed to allow blacks in parliament, and a black could even be brought into the Cabinet.

There is a person already being mooted in their circles for this position.

Together with this, an announcement will be made by Mr F. W. de Klerk inviting all South Africans to an open-ended "indaba" conference to negotiate a new dispensation for South Africa.

At the Commonwealth summit in Malaysia in the second half of October, Mrs Thatcher expects to announce a process of political settlement and call for sanctions to stop. This would put pressure on the ANC to become involved in this process and stop the armed struggle.

2.9 [as published] Our Perspectives

Negotiations are again a matter for discussion because of the manoeuvres of imperialists which have some support of our long-established friends. The imperialists want a modified/reformed capitalist society to replace the current apartheid regime. This is quite different to what we have been fighting for...

Alternatively, how do we respond or enter the process being planned?

We have to dictate the terms of change. Nothing should start to which we are opposed.

Our struggle is to take control of the process and ensure that negotiations, should they come about, are genuine and serious.

For this reason it is important that:

- We should all have the same agreed positions both inside and outside South Africa.
- We have a strategy to remain in control so those who intervene have to deal with our position.
- Our position should become an all-Africa position. This is crucial to our ability to influence the rest of the world. The Frontline states have a crucial role in this.

We have to present proposals on this issue before the rest of the world comes up with something. The world must deal with our proposal rather than we having to deal with another initiative. This would place us at an advantage and give us the ability to control and direct the process. We have to find ways of using the issue of negotiation to further divide/disrupt the ruling class rather than have the issue divide us.

In arriving at an acceptable proposal we have to ensure that we do not give the false impression that the regime is prepared to hold genuine negotiations. Also we have to ensure that we do not demobilise the masses and that there is widespread consultation among our people.

2.10 Towards a Proposal

We need to formulate a concept which does not surrender our political strategy to take power and which does not reject any political settlement.

We need to ask whether the pre-conditions are a sufficient measure to deal with these initiatives. From the assessment of the likely scenario, the strategy of imperialism is to pressure the regime into meeting the pre-conditions. Therefore, it is felt that a detailed plan needs to be worked out at the head of which is a list of pre-conditions.

Some ideas for dealing with this situation is to propose holding negotiations for the establishment of a constituent assembly which would be empowered to draw up a constitution.

- Who would run the country while such a constituent assembly met?
- How would such an assembly be composed?
- How do we negotiate over the establishment of such an assembly?
- These are some of the questions to be addressed.

There is another idea, going together with the idea of the constituent assembly, that the parliament(s) should be suspended and interim government established. This would need detailed elaboration and could be part of a negotiation proposal.

An issue to be looked at by the ANC would be the demand for the suspension of armed struggle and how to respond to the call for this in the context of a negotiated settlement.

Yet another issue is that of an "umpire." Do we need one for the purposes of a proposal?

There are no definite answers to all these issues yet and they need to be discussed both inside and outside the country to reach a common approach.

The final question that arises is: How urgent is this for our struggle? What seems clear is that there are a number of meetings taking place at high levels. We therefore need to act swiftly, taking everything that has been said above.

The OAU summit meets on 29-31 July and is therefore crucial in formulating an All-African position on the issue of a possible negotiated settlement in South Africa. If we are to pre-empt any other initiative we would need to win support for our position, once it is worked out, by that date.

3. The Way Forward

Discussions on the way forward produced the following conclusions:

3.1 Building and Consolidation

- We need to restructure the Mass Democratic Movement organisations.
- We must build unity with the Mass Democratic Movement and broader forces.
- Discussion of the constitutional guidelines must be deepened.
- The issue of negotiations must be discussed.
- The efforts to build a Peace Movement in Natal must continue and be intensified.

3.2 Campaigns

- A defiance campaign with a mass character needs to be waged to deepen our campaigns to be a challenge to the regime.
- The educational and Labour Relations Act campaigns could be linked. The possibility of widespread mass action and, in particular, a general strike (factory occupation) must be looked at.
- Other campaigns that need to be focussed on include: Housing; Namibia; and the September elections.

In conclusion, we need to aim for the Workers' Summit "of Action" in August followed by our action of September versus the action of the enemy.

* COSATU Reports on National Congress

34000748a Johannesburg THE NEW NATION
in English 14-20 Jul 89 pp 12-13

[Text] Cosatu's [Congress of South African Trade Unions] Third National Congress opened on Wednesday with a call by the federation's secretariat to intensify mass defiance of apartheid.

"We must spread the spirit of defiance to every corner of our land—the factories, shops and mines, into the rural areas and bantustans, into the schools and into the townships," declared the secretariat's report, read to congress by the federation's general secretary, Jay Naidoo.

Identifying two areas where democratic organisations had chosen to defy apartheid authorities—by demanding access to segregated facilities by July 30 and that the restrictions on organisations and individuals are lifted by August 20—the report points out that building mass democratic organisation with accountable leadership is essential in the struggle for these rights.

The report maintains that a "new current of opposition to apartheid" has been made possible by:

- The failure of the apartheid regime to win black support for reform, as shown by the low polls in last year's October municipal elections.
- The failure of the states of emergency and the JMC's [joint management centers] to crush resistance.
- The defeat of the SA Defence Force at Cuito Cuanavale.
- South Africa's "capitulation" on the issue of independence for Namibia.

Apartheid's Crisis

All these factors point to "a deep-seated political crisis" for the apartheid state which is so significant that it "has the potential to translate itself into the political disintegration and breakdown of the ideological rationale of apartheid," adds the report.

This crisis and the increasing divisions developing within the "ruling bloc" will have to be analysed by the congress "with a view to deepening them," says the report.

Aside from the political crisis, the apartheid state faces an economic crisis rooted in the very structure of the economy.

This the report calls a "structural crisis," or a crisis caused by the development of the system of monopoly capitalism in SA.

There are two parts to this crisis in capitalism, says the report. These are a financial crisis and a "crisis of accumulation."

The financial crisis is caused by three main things:

- The apartheid state not having enough money to repay its foreign debts.
- The state's increasing dependence on gold, the price of which is low on the world market at the moment, and
- The fact that the economy is not growing.

A key aspect of the "crisis of accumulation" is that not enough money is being kept in the country.

The reason for this, says the report, is that the bosses are exporting their profits instead of investing them in new industries.

Bosses Attack

In an attempt to keep profits high despite an unfavourable economic climate, "the capitalists, served by their political servant, the apartheid state, have launched a range of attacks on the working class," says the report.

These attacks it lists as: the Labour Relations Amendment Act (LRAA), privatisation, deregulation, productivity drives, retrenchments, wage freezes and the relocation of factories to bantustans where the bosses get massive government subsidies.

But these attacks on workers "are bound to fail because they do not address the structural crisis."

In other words, the attacks do not deal with the fundamental issues: the way the economy is structured.

"This congress will have to weld a programme of action that unites our resistance to these attacks and places us on the path to total liberation," says the report.

Imperialism

The secretariat also hits out at the imperialists who are attempting to "frustrate the mass struggle for fundamental economic and political transformation in South Africa" and "preserve our country for their own interests."

"Imperialism doubts the ability of the apartheid regime to protect its long-term interests. This explains their sudden frantic search for a 'settlement.'"

The report lists the strategies employed by imperialists to safeguard their interests as:

- Sowing disunity by promoting a whole lot of different political groupings with their own agendas, each claiming equal status, which hinders "the process of uniting our people around a programme of fundamental political, economic and social change."
- Attempting to impose a "reformist solution which will preserve our country for their own interests."
- Promoting a "co-optive aid programme that increases our dependence on international agencies and seeks to promote corruption in our ranks."

The Mass Democratic Movement

According to the report, Cosatu has become a "key component" in the MDM [Mass Democratic Movement] which it describes as being "a powerful alignment of patriotic forces."

"[The last four years of emergency rule] have seen a growing ideological coherence and unity in action between Cosatu, the affiliates of the UDF [United Democratic Front] and other mass formations," says the report.

Despite having achieved a great deal, there are still a number of challenges facing the MDM, says the report.

Challenges facing the MDM, as defined by the report, are:

- the strengthening and building of grassroots structures in all sectors,
- building structured links between different sectors of the MDM at local and regional levels,
- encouraging open discussion on the ANC's Constitutional Guidelines, negotiations, democracy and socialism to deepen members' ideological understanding,
- mobilising mass solidarity for Swapo and the Namibian people, and
- building the struggle against the LRAA and other attacks on workers, a mass movement for peace in Natal and the anti-apartheid coalition.

In order to develop this and address the challenges facing the MDM, it is essential to "deepen our mass approach," says the report.

To achieve this, union activists must be developed, says the report. This means the development of members into top-quality, highly disciplined and politically mature activists with a commitment at all times to democracy.

Issues Facing Cosatu

The report identifies four main challenges facing Cosatu at present:

- the struggle against the LRAA,
- building peace in Natal,
- negotiations, and
- building the anti-apartheid coalition.

As far as the anti-LRAA campaign is concerned, the challenge to Cosatu is to "shape the struggle against the LRAA into a potent weapon of struggle against the cheap labour system and the continuing attacks on our standards of living."

The report calls on the congress to decide on action to "smash the LRAA" and unite Cosatu members and other sectors of the community.

Blaming the war in Natal on apartheid's agents, the report sets out a long list of tasks necessary for establishing peace in the region.

One key task is to establish a mass campaign for peace based on a commitment to free association; an end to forced recruitment; the isolation and jailing of warlords and making all facilities available to all people, regardless of political affiliation.

The second key task is to establish a commission of enquiry into the role of the police in Natal, says the report.

Cosatu, the UDF, Inkatha and the ANC are to decide on a joint initiative for peace which is likely to involve a joint peace initiative and peace rallies.

Negotiations

As far as negotiations are concerned, the report says the reason the issue is suddenly on the agenda is as a result of mass struggle which has convinced imperialists that "the regime cannot preserve its long-term interests."

The report adds that, while there is no indication that Pretoria is serious about negotiations, it is up to the regime to "create a climate which is conducive to starting a process leading up to a political settlement."

The MDM must ensure that mass struggle is intensified so that the progressive forces are in a strong position in case of negotiations, adds the report.

In addition, it must "reassert our vision of the future" based on the Freedom Charter, and take this vision further by discussing the ANC's Constitutional Guidelines.

The report also condemns the forthcoming elections for the tricameral parliament in September, and calls on "all peace-loving people" to boycott the elections.

The task of building the anti-apartheid coalition has become urgent, says the report.

Growing unity in many areas, such as Natal, amongst workers and in the sectors of sport, culture and education, all make the formation of a broad coalition more possible, says the report.

Another anti-apartheid congress along the lines of the one banned last year is planned for October this year as part of the process of establishing a broad front against apartheid.

It will be built around the demand for one person one vote in a unitary South Africa, an end to repression and building unity and democracy.

The Path to Power

"We have the historic task of helping South Africa to move out of the impasse into which its ruling circles have driven it."

"This premise is the core of our thinking and the theme of this congress: 'Educate, Consolidate and Advance to Victory.'"

This was the challenge put to the 1,875 delegates to Cosatu's Third National Congress by the federation's president, Elijah Barayi, in a militant address to mark the opening of the congress on Wednesday.

"Given our contention that the regime is itself illegal and illegitimate, we in this congress are not prepared to confine our programme to what Pretoria has defined as legal and acceptable," added Barayi.

Terrain

"The terrain of our immediate struggles is to map out the path to power and to develop the subjective forces that are equal to the task."

Pointing to the clashes between the people of Leeuwarden and the police and the march against the state of emergency by 10,000 "young lions" in the Eastern Transvaal, Barayi said it was the task of the mass democratic movement (MDM) to "harness this spontaneity, to organise it and to give it the necessary content."

He added that the MDM was "having another crack" at convening the Anti-Apartheid Conference which was banned last year.

"Comrades, more and more people are looking upon us for a solution to the problems which beset our country. Not only do we have to convince them, but we also have to convince ourselves that the vision we are articulating is of a society which will, in reality, put power into the hands of the people."

It was in this light that Barayi called for discussion on the ANC's Constitutional Guidelines.

However, he warned that such discussion "must not induce in us a false sense that freedom is around the corner."

He also called for "a national programme of action" against privatisation, which was an attempt to ensure the survival of capitalism and to make it difficult for a democratic, post-apartheid state to provide essential services to the people.

Barayi also attacked imperialists for trying to make South Africans believe that "the prospect of a negotiated settlement is looming on the horizon."

Cosatu believed that the National Party was "not prepared to enter into proper negotiations with all South African leaders because it fears the loss of exclusive white control," said the president.

"The ball is in the regime's court [to create the climate for negotiations] and it must play it."

In dealing with the Labour Relations Amendment Act Barayi said "when the bill was first published, employers advertised their overwhelming support for it. We are determined to make them eat that advertisement," said Barayi.

Peace in Natal

Barayi also reaffirmed his organisation's commitment to achieving peace in Natal, saying that it was a tactic of the enemy to sow "discord and confusion among the people" to distract them from "the real issues."

"Those who are with us in the trenches have sent us to this Third National Congress of Cosatu in the hope that we shall take decisions which will add to our upward momentum," concluded Barayi.

"They expect this congress to consolidate our victories and chart the path to power. I urge you to rise to the challenge."

Stronger Than Ever

The Congress of South African Trade Unions started its Third National Congress (TNC) comfortable in the knowledge that it has never been stronger from an organisational point of view.

Not only has the federation grown in terms of numbers, but also in its political maturity, which has welded unity between affiliates and structures.

This became especially apparent after the federation's Special National Congress (SNC) in April last year. Having gone into that congress faced with the task of confronting sensitive political questions which had the potential to divide the federation, Cosatu emerged stronger with a clear programme of action which culminated in a massive show of strength in the June 6, 7 and 8 actions.

Since then, the federation has grown in strength. But there are still issues that have not been resolved. Among these is the split in the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union (Ccaawusa). The divisions in this affiliate have deepened in the last few months with a group of hotelworkers breaking away.

Despite the difficulties that still exist, the congress started on an optimistic note.

In contrast to the hard-hitting executive message published just prior to the Special National Congress in April last year, Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo read a report which highlighted a new political maturity among affiliates.

While it warned in April 1988 that the differences between the Cosatu leadership and between some affiliates threatened to paralyse the federation, this year's report says: "We have seen since the latter part of 1988 a more serious commitment to build the Central Executive Committee (CEC) and Executive Committee as vehicles for unity, debate and discussion.

"This has meant that our decisions are more carefully thought through since they arise out of rigorous and comradely discussion and debate."

Affiliates

It also emerged from the secretariat report that affiliates had seriously begun addressing their weaknesses. One of the most healthy developments in Cosatu, according to Naidoo, is that there was a drive from workers themselves that leadership should deal with the problems facing the unions.

If viewed against the concerns expressed just prior to the SNC last year, when the Cosatu executive said that union structures were in disarray, it is clear that the federation has made crucial organisational gains.

The relationships between affiliates, according to the report, have "improved dramatically." "We are learning to accommodate diverse views within Cosatu," Naidoo said in the report.

Just over a year ago, the federation's executive warned against chauvinism among affiliates and said that the failure to accommodate each other's views and respect majority decisions would cripple the liberation struggle.

Divisions within unions were also cited as a reason for the weaknesses being experienced. "Such divisions paralyse our affiliates and affect the whole federation," the executive message said last year.

Divisions have also occurred in the construction, domestic and unemployed workers' sectors.

According to the federation's annual report, Cosatu has, because of its overstretched resources, been unable to provide the necessary experience, skills and assistance to address the problems at an early stage.

Cosatu's report calls for a greater contribution from affiliates in addressing these issues. It points out that affiliates are already exchanging resources and information in the field of education.

The divisions in Ccaawusa show that Cosatu needs to intervene more firmly to preempt divisions in future, the report says. The TNC will have to find a way to facilitate this.

The report also says it is hoped that a resolution that would help resolve the divisions in Ccaawusa, would be tabled during the current congress.

Regional Structures

In contrast to the April SNC, when only two regions out of nine were functioning effectively, all regions are now operating. The report, at the same time, stressed the need for more supervision of Cosatu staff. It said this was only possible if there were effective regional structures.

Locals and Industrial Area Committees

Cosatu has also consolidated at local level and has so far set up shop steward councils in at least 45 areas, according to the federation's secretariat. This has followed a clear analysis in the two years since the Second

National Congress, that not enough was being done to generate sufficient participation in the federation's structures.

It was pointed out by the federation last year that, in some cases, affiliates boycotted locals.

In stressing the importance of locals, Cosatu pointed out last year, that these were the structures that maintained the militancy and vibrancy of the federation and which generated the leadership that made the worker movement "insurmountable on the ground."

It was against this background that the Cosatu CEC was mandated to establish Industrial Area Committees.

The report does not say how many committees have been established since last year's April congress but points out that they have played an important role in mobilising participation in last June's national action.

It, however, says that industrial area committees and shop steward councils must be strengthened and that constitutional functions of the shop steward councils will have to be debated.

Agricultural, Public Sector and Domestic Workers

Affiliates in the domestic, farm and public sectors have not progressed as well as the other industrial unions.

Cosatu's report points out that, from a potential membership of half-a-million, its public sector affiliates have only been able to organise 80,000 workers.

Limited progress has also been made in the agricultural sector which until now was being organised by the Food and Allied Workers' Union.

According to the secretariat's report, discussion has been held with a view to running the farmworkers' project separately.

Building these sectors will almost certainly become one of Cosatu's major organisational tasks in the two years before its next congress.

*** SAAF Chief Discusses Air Superiority**

34000761b Johannesburg ARMED FORCES in English
Jul 89 pp 14-15

[Interview with chief of the South African Air Force Lt. Gen. J.P.B. van Loggerenberg; date and place not given]

[Text] The South African Air Force [SAAF] has not lost the air superiority it has always enjoyed in Southern Africa and is still more than a match for any air force in the region, according to the Chief of the South African Air Force, Lt General J.P.B. van Loggerenberg.

In an exclusive, frank and wide-ranging interview Gen van Loggerenberg admitted, however, that the SAAF was experiencing problems with personnel and equipment.

The interview was prompted by the persistent reports emanating from abroad that the SAAF has lost the air superiority it has always enjoyed and that this was one of the reasons why South Africa, according to the reports, was forced to withdraw from Angola last year.

The following is a transcript of the interview:

[ARMED FORCES] General, is it correct that the SAAF has lost the air superiority in Southern Africa, as alleged in reports from abroad, and that this is the reason why the SADF had to withdraw from Angola?

[Loggerenberg] We must be careful that we do not become victims of the enemy propaganda.

The highly successful enemy propaganda campaign centered around our alleged inability to take Cuito Cuanavale during Operations Moduler, Hooper and Packer in South Eastern Angola in 1977 and 1988. As has been explained many times, the SADF had no intention of capturing Cuito Cuanavale.

Regarding the allegations about the so-called loss of air superiority, let us look at the facts.

Firstly, our ground forces were operating deep in Angola—between 300 and 500 km north of the border—with the result that our reaction time from the nearest SAAF base sometimes dropped to 23 minutes while the Angolan/Cubans worked on a maximum reaction time of 9 minutes, often less. This did create the impression that we could not provide the air cover our ground forces sometimes needed.

Secondly, we flew about 1,000 sorties during that period. This included providing close air support to the ground forces, bombing missions, the flying in of personnel and equipment and the evacuation of wounded personnel. As a matter of interest, our pilots counted more than 100 surface to air missiles which were fired at them. We lost one fighter aircraft which was hit by a SAM on a bombing mission—his 53rd consecutive sortie.

We encountered no resistance from the opposing air force.

However, because we do not have an unlimited supply of aircraft, we decided not to risk our aircraft unnecessarily by providing air cover to the ground forces just for the sake of having air cover.

If I may summarize, the wide deployment of ground radar stations coupled to SAM batteries—some of them of the latest varieties the East Block could provide—meant that we could not operate in the Angolan skies as freely as before. We did, though, carry out all the tasks assigned to us with a minimum number of losses and virtually no interference from the opposing air force. Looking to what is deployed to the north of us, I am convinced that the South African Air Force is more than a match for anyone. I can assure you that if I had to be in command of an air force in any country to the north of us, I would not risk an air attack on South Africa.

Armed Forces: But General, there are reports indicating that Zimbabwe might be getting MiG 29 aircraft. There are MiG 23 and similar aircraft deployed to the north of us. Should you not reconsider your answer in the light of these facts?

General van Loggerenberg: Firstly, Zimbabwe does not have MiG 29 aircraft. Secondly, they lack the expertise and ability to maintain such sophisticated aircraft. Thirdly, an aircraft is but a mobile weapons platform. Older—and slower—aircraft that are well maintained with superior pilots and weapons, are often much more effective than ill-maintained modern aircraft. Fourthly, we are continuously updating our fighter aircraft as we, for example, did with the Mirage III. Incidentally, the Cheetah (the upgraded Mirage III) is proving to be an exceptionally good aircraft. I am most satisfied with the Cheetah's performance and ability.

[ARMED FORCES] Talking about upgrading aircraft, what has happened with the fighter aircraft which, according to reports, South Africa was supposed to be developing?

[LOGGERENBERG] Not supposed to be developing, are developing. I am satisfied with the progress.

[ARMED FORCES] General, I do not want to sound too sceptical, but various countries tried to develop their own fighter aircraft and failed. I am thinking for instance of Israel and their Lavi aircraft and...

[LOGGERENBERG] Yes, I am aware of the problem. But, as I said soon after accepting command of the SAAF, we have no choice. We have to succeed. The other countries could find—and buy—alternative aircraft to suit their needs. We can not. I do not want to say much more on this subject, except to point to the level of sophistication we have reached in our weapons industry. We have the capability to produce a fighter aircraft and we will. It will also be specially adapted to our needs and our conditions and should therefore also be a superior product.

[ARMED FORCES] General, what has happened to the South African combat helicopter which is being developed?

[LOGGERENBERG] Good progress is being made. At the same time we are using the technology we are developing to upgrade our existing fleet of helicopters.

[ARMED FORCES] General, there are persistent reports of huge personnel losses from the SAAF and that this is affecting the effectiveness of the SAAF. Any comments?

[LOGGERENBERG] I do not agree with your statement of "huge personnel losses."

We have lost a number of our skilled personnel, including pilots, to the private sector because we simply could not compete with the huge salaries offered by the private sector. But we are not alone in this regard. It is a

common problem in other Air Forces of the world as well as in the Civil Service at the moment. With rapidly rising interest rates and a very high inflation rate, many Civil Servants—and here we have to include members of the SADF—are finding it more and more difficult to come out on their salaries. It is only natural that they would be looking with interest to what the private sector is offering for their skills. Even the South African Airways is losing their pilots who are attracted by higher salaries offered overseas. However, we are giving urgent attention to the problem.

[ARMED FORCES] Are there any plans to retire the Dakotas—they have after all been in service for more than 50 years?

[LOGGERENBERG] No. They are still in a good condition and we are getting excellent service out of them. Because they are so sturdy, we used them extensively in the operational area of South West Africa and during operations into Angola. I foresee that we will be using them for many years to come.

[ARMED FORCES] I see the SAAF is now using the Dakotas to patrol South Africa's coastline.

[LOGGERENBERG] Yes. You are aware of the fact that we cannot obtain maritime reconnaissance aircraft to replace the Shackletons which we had to retire a few years ago. The Dakota is not the ideal aircraft, but we have to make do with what we have. Since the West has decided to deny us the aircraft we need for maritime reconnaissance purposes—the same applies to ships for our Navy—we can no longer safeguard the Cape Sea Route. We are at the moment only concentrating on our own needs, such as patrolling our coastline. We can also no longer provide the West with the comprehensive intelligence on shipping movements like we used to do in the past. And when it comes to air-sea rescue, we are also limited in what we can do, especially far away from our coastline.

[ARMED FORCES] General, in conclusion, quite a few Impala aircraft have crashed lately. If my memory serves me correctly, there have been 6 within the last 12 months. Should one read anything significant into this?

[LOGGERENBERG] No. The Impalas are used more often than any other of the SAAF's aircraft. They are continuously used operationally and also for training purposes. They are thus more likely to be involved in incidents than other aircraft used less often. We are very satisfied with the Impala.

Regarding the Soviet threat, and the supposed doctrine of reasonable sufficiency, now apparently to be authenticated by a substantial cut in the number of Soviet troops, we must be careful not to mistake trends with realities, or stated intentions with capabilities.

*** Protests on Afrikaans Campuses Described**

34010033b Johannesburg VRYE WEEKBLAD
in Afrikaans 26 May 89 pp 1-2

[Article by Max du Preez: "Spirit of Protest. Ferment on Afrikaans Campuses"]

[Text] Political relationships on Afrikaans campuses are changing rapidly after years of subservience to the National Party.

The most recent proof of this came with this week's dramatic events at Stellenbosch, when hundreds of Maties [Stellenbosch students] ignored a university ban on protests in effect on that campus since 1985 to protest with banners and placards against dormitories that still admit only white students.

The night before last several hundred students walked out of a meeting called by the rector, Mike De Vries, on account of the protests. The protesters were repeatedly attacked by rightist students and even university administrative personnel.

Two weeks ago some 1,500 Maties revolted against De Vries's authoritarian ban on VRYE WEEKBLAD's Free as a Bird concert tour. Not more than a month ago a group of Stellenbosch student leaders met with ANC and African leaders in Lu:aka against the wishes of the authorities.

On the University of Pretoria campus a rightist attack on the anti-apartheid organization *Studente vir 'n Demokratiese Samelewing* [Students for a Democratic Society] (SDS) failed last week.

Virtually every Afrikaans campus now has an organization actively propagandizing against apartheid: SDS at Pretoria; Afrikan Anti-Apartheid [African Anti-apartheid] at the Rand Afrikaans University; NUSAS [National Union of South African Students] at Stellenbosch; Concerned Students at the University of Port Elizabeth; and the Transformation Action Group at the Free-State University. All of these organizations also have black members.

In addition, the Democratic Party [DP] is also playing a "prying away" role on campuses. By all indications there is great enthusiasm on most Afrikaans campuses, and DP organizers believe Afrikaner students will vote against the government on 6 September in far greater numbers than ever before.

Andre Zaaiman, campus coordinator for IDASA [Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa], says his experience shows that there certainly is a new spirit among Afrikaner students.

"There's a new tolerance among those students, as shown by the large number of National Party supporters who voted against excluding the SDS at Tuks [University of Pretoria]. The hegemony of Afrikaans nationalism is definitely crumbling.

"At this moment the new spirit is not so much one of 'We know where we're going,' as one of 'We know what's wrong but we don't know where we're heading.'"

Realities

"Most students are very uncertain. Apartheid has always provided such neatly compartmentalized answers but now students are increasingly being confronted with today's realities—not least because there are more and more black students on campus.

"The mere fact that the Free as a Bird tour—which really dishes out pretty harsh social and political commentary—had to perform three times at Tuks and aroused so much interest at Stellenbosch is proof of how students are beginning to feel now.

"Organizations like NUSAS at Stellenbosch and SDS at Tuks may still be small in numbers but their impact on the political discussions on those campuses is large and important. The DP itself is also playing a politicizing role on Afrikaans campuses," says Zaaiman.

Violence

This week's protests at Stellenbosch were organized by NUSAS, Gold Fields (the only black dormitory on campus), and BSOS (the black student association) and led to the first political violence on that campus since the 1970's, Pearlle Joubert reports.

Wednesday evening about 250 students walked out of a public meeting being addressed by the rector. This was the second time in his 10 years as rector that De Vries had addressed students at a public meeting. The students decided to walk out just before the end of the meeting because they felt that De Vries had not addressed the hottest question on campus, racial discrimination.

De Vries says the campus protest earlier this week may have set back by 2 years the whole process of negotiating to open up the dormitories, which he has been working on ever since the beginning of his term as rector.

This walkout was related to the protest march since the rector had told the protesters he would respond to their questions at his public meeting. Since he did not address the question of racism, members of the audience said the rector's meeting was irrelevant.

The question of open dormitories has been around a long time. At the beginning of the year all the political associations that distribute newspapers on campus appealed to the administration to open up the dormitories. In the first quarter, the Student Council also adopted a motion calling for opening up the dormitories unconditionally to all races.

Chaos

The peaceful protest meeting held last Thursday on campus turned into chaos when students from the Dagbreek, Wilgenhof, and Huis Marais men's dormitories

pelted those at the meeting with eggs, milk, mud, and water bombs. Lecturers and clergy participating in the protest meeting were also hit.

About 65 singing students met an hour before noon and moved onto campus with placards and banners. The slogans on the placards included these: "Put racism in the De(ep) Vries" and "Is Admin racist? Their dormitories are." The students vigorously sang "Forward We Shall March to a People's Varsity."

At noon about 1,500 students gathered on the library steps, where they were addressed by Prof M. Heyns, chairman of the English Department; Anne-Hielga Gagiano of the same department; Rev Simon Adams from the People's Church; Rev Louis Baks from the Anglican Church; and others.

During the meeting a group of about 30 students from the men's dormitories shouted insults and profanities at NUSAS and the others there. The speakers could hardly be heard above the noise and had to shout into the microphone to make themselves heard.

As eggs and water bombs rained down on her, Gagiano said that "students who are unwilling to share all university facilities with black students don't belong at a university. They obviously are not civilized enough to enjoy the privilege of higher education."

Vandalism

Adams said that the pillars of apartheid "are still rock solid at Stellenbosch even though South Africa is supposedly busy reforming."

The tires on the cars of Gagiano and the English Department's Rob Gaylard, who also attended the meeting, were slashed Sunday night. Also on Sunday night, a large cement block was thrown through Rev. Adams's living room window. They all said these incidents were connected with the protest meeting they had participated in.

After the meeting, students marched to the administration building and demanded that the rector state immediately when the dormitories would be opened up to all races. However, the rector refused a request from NUSAS Chair Leslee Durr; the head student of Gold Fields, Theo Adams; and Kononia Chair Dennis Beukes to come out of his office and speak with the students.

He said that he would not talk with "protesters whose emotions are whipped up" but would answer questions on Tuesday evening at his public meeting. The students then sang Nkosi Sikelel' i Afrika from the steps of the administration building and dispersed.

The group of dormitory students formed a cordon on the steps of the administration building in front of the door to prevent those at the meeting from entering the building. Administration staff from the upper storeys threw water at the students. In an incident on the steps, a student who had participated in the protest was kicked in the ribs by a Dagbreek resident.

Filmed

During the protest march two unknown persons filmed the entire march and meeting with a video camera. Three times NUSAS members confronted them but they said they were doing free-lance work for SABC [South Africa Broadcasting Corporation]. However, inquiries revealed that SABC knew nothing about those people.

At the Tuesday meeting the rector said he would certainly take action against the protestors. He said: "On Sunday after church I watched the whole protest on a video and know who was involved."

When asked where he had gotten the video, he said, "Somebody left it at my house."

At the rector's meeting, which was held on a Leadership Development Platform, Student Council Chairman Pierre van der Spuy urged students not to leave the hall before the end of the meeting. He also said that no statements could be read and that the rector must be addressed formally as "Prof De Vries."

The students who left the meeting subsequently held a planning meeting of their own. They formed the Aksiekomitee Teen Rassisme [Action Committee Against Racism] because they felt it was time to work constructively toward nonracism.

As students were standing up to leave the hall, the rector shouted after them that the walkout was a "personal insult."

In a statement issued afterwards, the students said that "the walkout (was) not a personal insult to the rector, except insofar as he considers himself responsible for the racism on the Stellenbosch campus."

Sink

At the meeting De Vries said that "it will take a long time to turn the apartheid ship around."

The students who left the meeting said in their statement that they "do not want to see the ship turn around, they want to see it sink."

Anton Schoon, a member of the SDS executive at Tuks, told Charles Leonard yesterday that the days when rightists dictated the political pace on campus are gone forever.

At the recent mass meeting where hundreds of Tukkies [University of Pretoria students] voted against the proposed ban on the SDS, the initiators—the Conservative Party—were isolated.

Resistance

More sectors of student society than ever before stood up for freedom of speech. The Democratic Party and the executive of the National Party strongly opposed the ban. Even the men's dormitories, which are traditionally conservative, cast block votes against the ban.

"We emerged from that struggle far stronger than before. The SDS is now firmly established on campus," he said. "They won't get us banned now."

*** 'Alternative Afrikaner' Seen Emerging**

34010033a Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans
4 Jun 89 p 27

[Article by Joan Kruger: "Free As a Bird—But Is It a Whole Flock? Something Is Happening With Afrikaners"; "Free As a Bird" was the name of a concert tour that featured sharp social and political criticism]

[Text] The "alternative Afrikaner" is turning into a real media figure; but how far-reaching is this change really?

Something is happening. Nothing, it is whispered, is sacred any more. Not Party, not church, not leaders. In book, song, and limerick, mockery is hurled at them, obscene insults, and wry faces.

Up on the stage young people rock around an ox-wagon in broadbrimmed hats and Oom Paul T-shirts—and do more for his reputation than two symbolic treks.

In an old bank building near the Johannesburg flea market the VRYE WEEKBLAD is published—and becomes the emblem of all those who are the opposite of rightist.

Up on the stage the bones of Afrikaner heroes are dug up; in "border novels" the bones of the dead will not lie quietly.

Has the kraal grown too small? Can the thorn branches of church councils and culture councils, Dispatch Riders and Presbyterian Committees no longer keep all of the volk inside?

Has the volk tasted the alternative of freedom...?

Philosophers say a paradigmatic shift is under way. The old answers have become empty talk in the wind, the old solutions no longer will solve anything, and the old illusions have degenerated into disillusion. More and more Afrikaners are seeking radically new answers. This is virtually inevitable, they say.

"In '48 we lost our political innocence. We got political power and political guilt along with it," says one of the new generation of thinkers.

Previously the question was: What has political power done to us? Now the question has become: What have we done with political power? Between these two questions came decades of National government, the '76 revolts, the '83 constitution, necklacing, violence, and pessimism.

Today there are more and more Afrikaners seeking their norms outside the concept of Afrikanerdom—in things like human rights charters, for example.

The alternative Afrikaner has made his tentative appearance. And was immediately challenged on all sides.

Party researchers doubt whether any shift at all is occurring. It is only a flirtation, they say. A rhetoric of enlightenment without any substance. And besides: The loss to the Right is far greater.

Young people have remained politically unconscious, isolated and protected in their own political world, subject to the promptings of newspapers and television, says Dr Susan Booysen of the Rand Afrikaans University's Department of Political Science. Everything around them encourages them not to change. They read and hear only what they understand and support. They remain part of a privileged class that will not institute change even if the country is tottering around them....

She has figures to support what she says. In the end she has had to accept this: Students have not really changed their opinions. What they thought when they arrived as first-year students is what they think when they depart as third-year students. "The changes have been minimal"—and even that was often only "artificial pseudodemocratic rhetorical change."

Is the alternative Afrikaner just an illusion then? A handful that are free as a bird but not a whole flock? A few swallows, at most?

Large, enthusiastic crowds at Afrikaans rock concerts? Nonetheless: "The beat is OK, but it is not transformed into political thinking." Others differ, they see something of a new awakening among Afrikaners.

Trying to put a face to that new Afrikaner is like trying to pin the tail on the donkey with a blindfold on. You feel about in the dark—and always you hear laughter. Nonetheless. Even blindfolded you know: This is not a matter of ostentatious Boer punks or Boer bohemians. Nor is it a matter of people who reject Afrikaans. It is not mainly a matter of hot-headed rebels.

It may just be Afrikaners who want to be a human being first and an Afrikaner second. And the people who are talking the most radically about change are often those who were always "the soul of the volk," people with Afrikaner nationalism bred into the bone. Often no longer young, because it is not primarily the spontaneous revolt of young people against the establishment. Thirty-year-olds. Forty-year-olds. Fifty-year-olds. Teachers. University lecturers. Housewives. Businessmen. Members of elders committees. Sometimes even church council members.

These are people who until recently thought in terms of loyal opposition, but then lost one illusion too many. They are such unlikely rebels. Nonetheless, their revolt is genuine.

In the words of a philosopher, they have broken out of their ideological blindness. They have realized that since '48 the Afrikaner has no longer been the victim of history, the Afrikaner has been the one in power.

Just such an Afrikaner as this said: "Moral and religious things have been done in the name of the Afrikaner that I cannot subscribe to. I have seen the dark side of our ideals and know that our power is being preserved by means of armored cars and weapons."

And another one: "I refuse to remain locked into an Afrikanerdom that limits me, that keeps me away from the broader values of humanity. My Afrikanerdom must not be allowed to make me remain a stranger to the other people in this country and reduce us all to stereotypes."

They are weary of groupthink. That is also why the phrase "alternative Afrikaner" does not fit. Even it implies that their very existence depends on a group.

Their turning away from the traditional values and myths of Afrikanerdom cannot always be dismissed as just flirtation. Because to reject the values laid down for you by the hierarchy of church and folk is to be outcast. The establishment's revenge is a bitter one. Alienation brings great pain.

In the end you must admit it: You cannot put a single face on this other Afrikaner. There is a political group, a theological group, a philosophical group, an artistic group. The one carries Friday's *VRYE WEEKBLAD* under the arm, the other hums "Hillbrow," the third joins the Democratic Party, and the fourth writes an open letter to his coreligionists. With one common denominator: opposition to apartheid, a search for a new South Africa with ideals of freedom and equality, and a will to correct what is wrong. And a readiness to take a leap of faith into a future that offers no guarantees.

Rascally fellows, they have already realized that no bolt of lightning will strike you dead if you shout "Get Rid of It!" [the title of a protest song] or get banned on a campus.

Nor will they let themselves be alienated from what they feel is their own. If the People's Watch lays claim to certain symbols, they take them back again and liberate them. If the cultural oxen are still pulling in the one direction, they just swing the wagon around.

They speak Afrikaans as the language of liberation, hammer on church doors until they open for everyone, prance above Hillbrow in a voortrekker costume, and put a turbobooster on the ox-wagon.

They are irreverent, liberating, impudent, banal, and if on top of it all they are also Afrikaners... so what?!

*** Inkatha Identifies Obstacles to Negotiations**

34000745d Johannesburg *SUNDAY TIMES* in English
16 Jul 89 p 10

[Advertisement: "This is Where We Stand," by Dr. G. M. Buthelezi, President, Inkatha]

[Text] "Negotiation politics and non-violent political change, which Inkatha has confidently championed since

its founding in 1975, now occupy the centre stage of South Africa. All other strategies are becoming increasingly unrealistic and unworkable. As the author of negotiation politics and non-violent change in black politics, Inkatha is destined to play an even more prominent role in the political developments that are unfolding in our country." [Dr O. D. Dhlomo, secretary General, Inkatha, speaking at the annual conference Ullundi, on July 8, 1989].

During the past year Inkatha, under the leadership of Dr. G. M. Buthelezi, has invested a lot of time and energy on negotiation, regionally, nationally, and internationally. Nationally, Dr. Buthelezi and the central government appointed a joint committee to identify and address obstacles impeding negotiations in South Africa. Inkatha tabled the following document at the first sitting of the committee. To our knowledge, no other political organisation has undertaken such a task before. We believe that our document will be useful to all political groups and to foreign governments keen to see negotiation politics get off the ground.

Working documents of Inkatha presented to the Committee, investigating obstacles impeding negotiations in South Africa.

A. Preamble

It is accepted that there are real obstacles impeding negotiations in South Africa and that unless these obstacles are clearly identified and sincerely addressed, negotiation politics will not take off.

B. Obstacles as Identified by Inkatha

1. Exclusive as opposed to inclusive negotiations

The South African Government seems to favour exclusive negotiations (i.e. negotiations that exclude certain groups and individuals who, for one reason or the other, are not acceptable to the Government as negotiating partners). Inkatha favours inclusive negotiations (i.e. negotiations that include all groups and individuals without any pre-conditions). Inkatha believes that inclusive negotiations would entail the acceptance of the following measures by the South African Government.

1.1 The immediate and unconditional Release of Mr Nelson Mandela and other Rivonia Trialists as well as the release of all those political prisoners that have already served sentences of over 15 years. Other political prisoners must also be considered for release.

1.2 Declaration of an amnesty which would enable all political exiles to return to South Africa and participate in negotiations. The amnesty would have to be adequately guaranteed and returning exiles would need to be assured of immunity from prosecution.

1.3 Unbanning organisations so that the leaders might freely consult with their followers before and during negotiations.

1.4 The lifting of the State of Emergency, the release of political detainees and the restoration of press freedom. This should be done to facilitate free debate and assembly.

2. Removal of Discriminatory Laws

It is accepted that all discriminatory laws cannot be removed overnight in South Africa. Nevertheless there are specific laws that are regarded by the majority as "pillars of apartheid". The following laws would need to be removed before the start of negotiations.

2.1 The Group Areas Act

2.2 The Population Registration Act

2.3 The Separate Amenities Act

3. Inability of the Government to allow groups to form themselves voluntarily and the insistence that only race-based groups should be constitutionally recognised.

This inability is demonstrated by the Government's refusal to discuss any other alternative suggested formulae that seek to move away from rigid race classification, e.g. KwaZulu-Natal Indaba, geographic (as opposed to ethnic) federalism etc., as well as the Government's inflexible belief that the only solution is rigid ethnic separation e.g. the Homelands Policy and the Tricameral Parliamentary System.

4. The Existence of the Tricameral Parliament

One single obstacle to negotiations is the existence of the tricameral parliament (with all its consequences like the Regional Service Councils, Own Affairs, etc.) which are perceived by the black majority as entrenching apartheid and racism and making a mockery of the concept of power sharing.

C. Procedures in Addressing the Obstacles

I. Exclusive as Opposed to Inclusive Negotiations

1. Political Prisoners:

The following procedure should be adopted:

1.1 Mr Nelson Mandela and other Rivonia trialists

These should be released immediately and unconditionally.

1.2 Political Prisoners that have served over fifteen (15) years.

These should also be released immediately and unconditionally.

1.3 Other political prisoners

The principles of remission of sentence and parole should be immediately applied to all political prisoners that qualify as happens with other categories of prisoners.

2. Declaration of an amnesty:

2.1 The government should announce an amnesty through appropriate national and international channels.

2.2 The co-operation of instances like the International Red Cross, the U.N. Commission for Refugees, Western Governments and the International Commission Of Jurists should be sought encouraging exiles and refugees to take advantage of the amnesty.

3. Unbanning of organisations

Once prisoners under C1.1 and 1.2 are released, the Government should immediately negotiate with them the modalities for the unbanning of their organisations.

4. The ending of the state of emergency, the release of detainees and the restoration of press freedom

The release of detainees and the restoration of press freedom should happen immediately and the lifting of the State of Emergency could be done either immediately or progressively according to districts and in accordance with a predetermined time table before the start of negotiations. In any event C.1, 2 and 3 would of necessity have to lead to the lifting of the State Of Emergency, the release of detainees, and the restoration of press freedom.

II. Discriminatory laws:

1. There are laws that are already being considered for abolition and these should be abolished immediately before negotiations begin, e.g. Group Areas Act, Separate Amenities Act and the Population Registration Act.

2. Other laws like Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 could then be phased out in accordance with a definite time table which would be subject to negotiation.

III. Race-Based Group Concept

1. The government must announce its acceptance of the principle of voluntary association or freedom of association.

2. Voluntary groups that arise should enjoy protection from the State and their constitutional rights should be guaranteed.

IV. Tricameral parliament

A mutually acceptable Statement Of Intent should be issued stating clearly that negotiations would aim at replacing the tricameral system with a system acceptable to the majority of the people of South Africa.

D. Points of Common Agreement

1. Establishment of a United South Africa with one sovereign parliament:

If this is mutually acceptable then the qualification should be that no self governing territory should hence

forth be allowed to declare itself independent, and that the TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] states that wish to rejoin a United South Africa should be allowed to do so.

2. Belief in a democratic, non-racial and multi-party political system.
3. Belief in the protection of individual and minority rights.
4. Belief in freedom of association for individuals regardless of race.
5. Belief in the free enterprise economic system with built-in mechanisms to create wealth, eliminate poverty and afford disadvantaged sections of the South African population maximum opportunity to fully participate and have a meaningful stake in the economy.

Mobilising NOT for revolution but FOR Democracy

Inkatha's membership continues to rise, despite intimidation and violence in KwaZulu/Natal. Current membership is as follows:

Youth Brigade, 718,875; Women's Brigade, 464,048; General Membership, 555,258; Total, 1,738,181

Membership:

1977, 120,000; 1980, 300,000; 1983, 750,000; 1986, 1,300m

"Our next task is to fashion our membership not for revolution but for winning a democratic, free and fair election when it takes place." [Dr. O. D. Dhlomo].

Issued by: Dr. O. D. Dhlomo, 128 Umngeni Road, Durban.

*** Possible Rifts Within Inkatha Examined**

34000749b Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 14-20 Jul 89 pp 7-8

[Article by Eddie Koch]

[Text] If claims by the Zulu nationalist movement, Inkatha, that its paid-up membership had climbed to almost 1.8-million over the last year are true, it would make the organisation by far the biggest in South African history.

Even the African National Congress—widely recognised as the most representative of South Africa's extra-parliamentary resistance groups—claims nowhere near such membership figures before it was outlawed in the early 1960s.

Inkatha's assertions at the conference went beyond the spectacular membership figures. General secretary Oscar Dhlomo said Inkatha was the only organisation in Natal with a "chain of command from top leadership down to

local communities" capable of mobilising mass support for the peace initiative in the province's war-torn townships.

But political observers in Natal have responded to these claims with a large degree of scepticism. Sociologist Gerhard Mare, who has co-authored an authoritative study of Inkatha, said they were clearly exaggerated.

Other sources, including a former member of Inkatha's leadership, told the WEEKLY MAIL that far from being a cohesive mass-based political movement, Inkatha was undergoing a series of internal stresses and strains at the time of its conference.

"If it has such a dramatic membership and disciplined structure, then it would have about a third of Natal's African population as formal members and it would be able to create peace in Natal without any problems," said Mare.

The reports at the conference also contradicted previous Inkatha statements—made especially at times when its members have been implicated by the courts in violence—that the organisation was so loose it could not be held responsible for all the actions of its members.

Mare's study also contains evidence suggesting that a significant proportion of Inkatha's membership has been "nudged" into joining the movement. Affidavits and statements indicate that members of Inkatha's leadership have used methods that range from threats of assault and murder, to the denial of houses, land, jobs and pensions against those who refuse to join up.

A former member of Inkatha said signs of serious discontent within leadership ranks of Inkatha emerged during the first round of peace talks between the movement and the United Democratic Front and Congress of South African Trade Unions.

A source, who once occupied a post in the kwaZulu administration, said the leadership wrangle was linked to discontent over Buthelezi's domineering style of leadership.

During the first round of peace talks in Natal, which Buthelezi declined to attend, the Inkatha delegation, headed by Dhlomo, distanced itself from a letter by the Inkatha chief that had harshly criticised the leadership of the UDF and Cosatu.

However other observers—while confirming that there appeared to be a division between the Inkatha delegation and Buthelezi—cautioned against attributing too much significance to the split. Sources from Cosatu and the UDF were tight-lipped on the issue.

A more serious problem for Inkatha appears to be a set of squabbles and disillusionment in the middle and lower ranks of the movement.

The former Inkatha member told the WEEKLY MAIL that members of the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly

(KLA) and a number of rural chiefs were disgruntled with low salaries. Chiefs receive a stipend of around R250 a month, while KLA members receive about R1,300 a month—and have to contribute 10 percent of their salary as revenue to Inkatha.

Mare confirmed there were signs of growing discontent with Inkatha among chiefs in Natal, but said they tended to be conservative and would be unlikely to desert Inkatha in significant numbers.

The recent revival of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa), which aims to mobilise rural chiefs behind the "mass democratic movement," will be a crucial test of whether large numbers of rural chiefs have withdrawn their support for Buthelezi.

Mare believes a more serious strand of dissent within Inkatha stems from within kwaZulu's civil service.

Late last year, civil servants were involved in a mini-revolt when the "homeland" government failed to

honour a pledge that salaries for black officials would be brought into line with those of white bureaucrats. The kwaZulu Staff Association went as far as to threaten strike action in December last year unless the increases were paid.

During the turbulence, links were created with Cosatu's National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union (Nehawu).

Pretoria has recently cut back on its budgetary grants to "homeland" governments, and the financial squeeze is likely to magnify opposition from chiefs, civil servants and members of the legislative assembly.

Fiscal constraints has also encouraged local Inkatha officials to rely increasingly on local levies and taxes in urban townships and rural settlements for revenue.

In the shantytowns around Durban, for example, residents tell of having to pay Inkatha membership fees, road tolls, bridge levies and contributions to legal fees for arrested Inkatha members.

Mozambique

* Renamo Official on Negotiations

34420117 Lisbon JORNAL DE O DIA in Portuguese
15 Jul 89 pp 4-5

[Interview with Manuel Frank, Renamo's roving ambassador for Europe, by M. Martins de Almeida; date and place not given; first four paragraphs are JORNAL DE O DIA introduction]

[Text] Peace prospects in Mozambique and the current political, social, and economic situation in that country were discussed and analyzed by Manuel Frank, representative of the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] in Portugal and Europe, in an interview granted to O JORNAL DE O DIA.

Describing the proposal recently presented by Joaquim Chissano as a "real banana peel," Frank said that accepting those conditions would be the same as accepting unconditional surrender, which is totally outside the context of Renamo's position in Mozambique's current situation.

"The Renamo will always reject amnesty or integration," stressed the representative of that guerrilla organization.

Renamo's roving ambassador in Europe (except for the FRG, which has its own representative), Miguel Frank, is based in Lisbon. He is responsible for Renamo activity at the diplomatic, political, economic and social levels. He was born in Angonia, Mozambique, on the border with Malawi.

Peace Prospects

[JORNAL DE O DIA] What are the prospects for peace in Mozambique, as presumed from Joaquim Chissano's recent statements?

[Frank] Prospects for peace in Mozambique are good, even though the proposal presented by Chissano is a "real banana peel." It is understood, first off, that the situation cannot be viewed from a base of equality. In any event, it can be considered a starting point for consideration.

We are not insisting on violence. It was a process that was provoked. We will only accept peace accords within a bilateral system, one that defends common interests. We are struggling against the current regime which, from the outset, we have refused to recognize. To accept the proposals of the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] government would be the same as accepting unconditional surrender. The Renamo could never take such a position.

[JORNAL DE O DIA] Would the Renamo agree to lay down its arms and allow its cadres and troops to turn themselves over to the government authorities, even with the promise that there would be no retaliation, before any accords are signed?

[Frank] To go back to the matter we focused on before, we insist that we absolutely refuse to lay down our weapons without a previously negotiated accord. Obviously, we are not so "naive and stupid." This accord will have to be negotiated by both parties, as happened with the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola]. How can we lay down our arms without negotiations? Such an idea is utterly utopian. We will not play along with the games of interests that are foreign to us, in which "large international powers or forces" enter the scheme for opportunistic motives, with their sights trained covetously on Mozambique's wealth.

Incidentally, Chissano was not truthful in his statements. He knows perfectly well that the Renamo is not at a disadvantage. In this regard, Chissano has apparently taken positions so as to avoid friction with the "highly reactionary" political sectors of the government and of the Frelimo—a kind of temporizing until a decision is reached as to the methods to be used at the negotiating table. In other words, with regard to peace in Mozambique, the current state of affairs is an irreversible factor. It is the Renamo which is in a position to put forth its demands, or rather, its proposals, because, given the current political circumstances and where control of the territory is concerned, we have the advantage. We are not only dominant in terms of territory, but also in relation to the people.

[JORNAL DE O DIA] Are the Renamo's armed forces still active, despite the fact that reconciliation is within sight?

[Frank] The struggle goes on. The war will continue until the moment when both parties sign an agreement implying a cease-fire, until the peace negotiations are concluded. The talks will have to take place outside Mozambique, obviously. Mobutu seems prepared to offer his assistance, as he did with regard to the UNITA. The Renamo is remaining vigilant and active. I repeat: we reject amnesty or integration. The problems that affect our country must be resolved through dialogue. As noted in the press conference, we continue to reiterate that the Renamo is offering a political project, presented as a democratic alternative to the Frelimo regime, which is primarily to blame for the hunger, disease, illiteracy, and despair that mercilessly afflict the Mozambican people.

The dictatorship imposed by the Frelimo has resulted in economic regression, low productivity, poverty, hunger and misery.

Renamo Conditions

[JORNAL DE O DIA] What conditions does the Renamo impose at the outset for an immediate cease-fire and for the restoration of peace?

[Frank] First of all, the Renamo is not imposing special conditions. We ask that the Frelimo adopt the same criterion. Dialogue is the only way to reach agreements in the interest of both parties to the armed conflict and to

end the war which has devastated our country. Dialogue is the fulcrum of good will, the real sign of mutual trust. But reconciliation cannot be at any price or by means of accords elaborated in a frivolous way, without sufficient consideration of all the many aspects: it must be to the benefit of the Renamo and the Frelimo—in other words, for the good of the Mozambican people.

Obviously, Renamo has a plan already defined, which contains the following principal clauses: 1) Cease-fire; 2) Constitution of a government of national salvation; 3) Election of a constituent assembly to draft a new constitution; 4) General elections.

We hope that the Frelimo will accept the hand that the Renamo has always extended, as a signal of good will, to end the war in Mozambique.

[JORNAL DE O DIA] Could General Afonso Dhlakama, president of the Renamo, come to be a part of the Mozambican Government? I ask the question as it relates to the future (still in doubt) of Savimbi, following the signing of the accords in Gbadolite, Zaire.

[Frank] Dhlakama must certainly be a part of the Mozambican Government, although I cannot say now what position or role he would have. We must remember that Afonso Dhlakama is a national hero, commander in chief of the armed forces of the Renamo, former cadre of the Frelimo, which he deserted, and one of the great fighters for Mozambican independence. Savimbi simply agreed not to be a part of the transition government. This does not mean that Savimbi will not be a candidate for an office in keeping with his military and political standing, after the elections. In any event, it is not our intention to meddle in that situation. It is not our problem.

Renamo Occupation and Control

[JORNAL DE O DIA] The Renamo occupies a large part of Mozambican territory. What troops does it have and how does it command and control such vast areas?

[Frank] The Renamo certainly occupies 85 percent of the territory of Mozambique, north and south, confining the Frelimo to the cities and some rural villages. When we occupy a village, it is only as part of an organized military strategy and is always temporary. The reason is that such an occupation creates an immediate danger because we are an easy target for aerial bombardment, putting the defenseless inhabitants of that area at risk. For example, in Zambezia Province, the Renamo has not occupied the cities of Quelimane, Mocula and Milange, but all the remaining territory has been liberated by the Renamo.

With regard to troop strength, the Renamo has 25,000 men, distributed in various groups and assigned to tactical guerrilla units, as recommended in our war plan and according to a scheme adapted to this type of struggle.

The Renamo's first liberated zones were created in Manica and Sofala provinces between 1982 and 1983. Regarding command and control of these vast areas occupied by our army, there is a constituted government to administer these zones. Thus we control 55 percent of the population, or approximately 7.7 million people.

We have education programs with responsibility for 45 secondary schools, which go up to the sixth grade, plus 9,373 primary schools. In agriculture, the people are assisted by agrarian technicians trained in our own centers, created throughout the country. Each family cultivates about 6 hectares of grains, producing an average 2.5 tons per hectare. All the families have their own land, to provide for their subsistence. There is no famine in the Renamo's liberated zones, in contrast to the Frelimo-controlled areas, where millions are threatened with starvation unless they receive immediate aid.

Just recently, a few days ago, the Frelimo government made an urgent appeal to the international community for food aid....

Bankrupt Economy

Continuing, Manuel Frank referred, in general terms, to the current economic situation in Mozambique:

"The economic situation in Mozambique continues to deteriorate and the blame lies solely with the Frelimo government. For example, sugar production, which reached about 500,000 tons in 1973/1974, with noteworthy estimates for national growth, is today down to about 30,000 tons. To meet the needs, even barely, for domestic supplies, the Mozambican Government is buying sugar (when it has foreign exchange available) on the foreign market.

"With regard to grains, production currently stands at 6 percent, about 40,000 tons, when at least 700,000 tons are needed to avert a famine—forget about abundance.

"Industry is down to 10 percent of capacity. Most of the industrial park is idle.

"Cashew nut production, in which Mozambique led the world until 1973/1974, is now practically nil. In the current economic situation, the Frelimo government is obliged to import cashew nuts from India, to keep the factories from shutting down.

"Domestic beef or goat meat, poultry, etc. are nonexistent. When foreign exchange reserves permit, they are regularly imported from the neighboring territory of Botswana.

"Regarding the food shortage, let me tell you what happened in Beira City. It sounds like an anecdote, but it's not. To buy eggs, you had to have a prescription from a doctor.

"People have a difficult time acquiring food. Meanwhile, in the 'special stores,' exclusively for the Frelimo and government cadres, and in the 'duty-free stores,' there

are no shortages. It is only there that you see abundance. In the latter stores, only foreign exchange or foreign currency is accepted. They cater to the diplomatic corps and the cooperants. Both types of establishment have their windows painted over in the inside."

Purchasing Power and Rationing

Manuel Frank referred to other shortage-related situations:

"The minimum wage in Mozambique is 17,000 meticals, not even enough to buy a sack of corn, which costs 20,000 meticals on the black market (where, incidentally, most food is purchased). The normal wage is 50,000 meticals and for more distinguished cadres (but not often) it can go as high as 100,000 meticals—barely enough to live on in either situation. This is because of the shortage of essential products and the necessity of resorting to the so-called black market.

"Domestic servants were living better in the colonial era, with wages between 300 and 350 meticals, than people are doing now with 17,000 or even 50,000 meticals.

"Rationing is another headache. The quotas which are set, in a general way, for the acquisition of rice, sugar, corn meal, beans, soap and so on are, in most cases, not entirely used up, because the average wage of 50,000 meticals is not high enough to afford the entire allotment. So people are living in a situation of continuing difficulty, except for the cadres, for whom there are no shortages and whose wages are more consistent with costs.

"Adding to this abnormal way of life, what with the shortages and rationing, people who want to have lunch or dinner at the old Polana Hotel, or any other hotel, can only be served if they come duly supplied with foreign currency."

Famine

Manuel Frank continued, adding:

"In this situation of public calamity, famine has set up camp in Mozambique, invading the principal cities—Maputo and Beira—and other urban centers such as Nampula, Quelimane, Tete, Pemba, Inhambane, etc. In the zones controlled by the Renamo, there is no famine. As I said, the people in our areas are assisted in their agricultural production: each family cultivates 6 hectares of grain, with production amounting to 15 tons per year per family.

"I want to stress that the Renamo government is based on the traditional authorities, the 'regulos.' Thus the Renamo constitutes a state within a state. In the health field, we have 3,000 hospitals at various levels—regional, provincial, district, local and by zone—employing about 8,000 civilian and military nurses.

"It is customary for the Frelimo to blame the lack of rainfall, the prolonged droughts, for the shortage of

grains and other foodstuffs. But this is a groundless excuse, an attempt to remove the onus from its poor government, based on a politics that fosters bourgeois behavior and corruption among its elite. Well, from the droughts that Frelimo invents, one might conclude that the rain falls for the Renamo but there is no rain for the Frelimo....

"We recognize that in Inhambane, Gaza, and Maputo Provinces the rainfall is irregular, a situation that affects almost the entire belt south of the Save River, primarily in the coastal zones. But this weather factor in no way justifies the reasoning invoked by the Chissano government to magnify the tragedy of the famine in Mozambique. Mozambique is considered the country with the most water on the entire continent of Africa."

Support, Friends

[JORNAL DE O DIA] Where will the Renamo find the necessary support to keep its guerrillas active?

[Frank] We have friends, great friends, who give us much material support. Until 1984, we relied on South Africa, which, with the signing of the Incomati Accords, stopped supplying us with military equipment and goods. Nonetheless, aside from the friends that we have on every side, including the United States, our enormous strength lies in the support from the people, who also want to be liberated from the yoke of the Frelimo dictatorship.

Defamation Campaign in United States

[JORNAL DE O DIA] In 1988, some U.S. Government officials promoted a defamation campaign against the Renamo, which must have weakened your reputation in international political circles. This campaign seems to have disappeared.

[Frank] That campaign weakened us very little, inasmuch as it culminated in exaggerated criticisms and untruths. The whole defamation campaign against our organization was headed by Chester Crocker, a political figure who was a member of the cabinet [as published] (in a particular section which focused on African affairs) of former President Ronald Reagan. It should be explained that it was not refugees who were being interviewed at that point in the defamation campaign against the Renamo. They were going to individuals linked to the SNASP [People's National Security Service] (the Mozambican KGB) who used the language of lies and defamation against the Renamo.

The campaign did not last long. It was doomed to fail.

Renamo Congress

At the end of his interview, Manuel Frank wanted to stress the importance of the First Renamo Congress, which took place from 5 to 9 July of this year in the Serra da Gorongosa. It was attended by all the delegates, cadres, representatives of all the provinces, guests, and the general public. A general accounting was taken of the sociopolitical-military situation and guidelines were

defined for the reorganization of the internal structure, to meet the new demands of the struggle against the Frelimo dictatorship. The current situation in southern Africa in general and in Mozambique was discussed in depth and the program was revised, along with changes in the statutes, the flag, and the anthem. Finally, it was concluded that it was imperative to find a solution that leads to peace, "because the Mozambican people are tired of war."

"It was stressed that the Renamo rejects amnesty or integration."

* BADEA Finances Urban Power Project

34420125a Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
23 Jun 89 p 3

[Text] Mozambique is the beneficiary of a loan of \$10 million (about 7.22 million meticals) from the BADEA [Arab Bank for African Economic Development], for an unspecified urban electrification project, the PANA [PAN-AFRICAN NEWS AGENCY] reports.

According to the source, the BADEA, which held its 52d ordinary session from 17 to 19 June, approved loans totaling \$24 million to finance development projects in Angola, Benin and Mozambique.

Thus the National Bank of Angola (BNA) will receive \$4 million and Benin will receive \$10 million in credit to finance construction of the Parakou-Natingou highway.

Including this financing, the BADEA has already granted a total of \$927.14 million to non-Arab African countries since 1975. The bank also donated \$214.24 million in emergency aid between 1974 and 1977, with funds from the SAAFA (Arab Special Fund for Aid to African Countries).

* Niassa Receives Merchandise Transport Subsidy

34420121a Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
8 Jul 89 p 3

[Text] To cope with the high cost of transporting merchandise from the city of Beira to Lichinga by road, Niassa Province has just been granted an additional fund of 50,000 contos. In addition, a brigade from the Ministry of Finance was recently in that part of the country to evaluate the situation and decide on the amount to be granted this year. NOTICIAS was told by a local government source that the amount is estimated at 330,000 contos.

This measure, which covers both state-owned and private carriers, is aimed basically at subsidizing the cost of road transport for food products intended for the inhabitants of that region of the country but not produced in the province.

The subsidy consists of the difference between the cost of transporting 1 metric ton by road and the cost of transporting that same metric ton over the rail line from

Nacala to Lichinga, which has been out of operation for about 5 years due to sabotage by the armed bandits.

Also in the area of freight transportation, the government of Niassa Province is doing its best to inventory state-owned freight vehicles that can be declared surplus and later sold at public auction, with priority going to economic agents involved in that province's rehabilitation efforts.

Parallel with that action, the Niassa government considers it important to continue its current efforts to acquire new freight vehicles that will go primarily to the private sector, according to our source.

That same source told NOTICIAS: "Also to be continued are efforts to see that all the parties involved solve the problem with the Nacala-Lichinga rail line and that the plan for lake transportation takes shape and becomes a reality."

Since the rail line, which begins at the port of Nacala, is out of operation, Niassa ships and receives its various kinds of merchandise through Beira, with the route running from Beira to Zimbabwe, Tete, Malawi and, finally, Niassa.

That portion of the road inside Niassa Province is going to undergo repairs with a view to making it more suitable for heavy trucks departing from Beira in Sofala Province.

Harmful Effects of War

Niassa, which has an area of 129,056 square km, was first infiltrated by the enemy in the first half of 1983. Particularly affected were the districts of Mecanheles, Mandimba, and Cuamba, all on the Malawian frontier.

In the following year, the war spread throughout the province, causing murders and the destruction of various social and economic infrastructures, including sabotage of the Nacala-Lichinga rail line, which is the main route out of the province.

Niassa, which depends primarily on the rail line, feels too choked off to continue its social and economic development effectively because the war is stifling the system for the distribution of material goods essential to production and of foodstuffs for nearly all of the 620,000 inhabitants.

Despite those difficulties, Niassa will be able this year to market over 6,000 metric tons of various products representing the population's surplus goods. According to our source, it is hoped that there will be an overall increase of 15.6 percent in comparison with the results of last year's marketing campaign.

That result will be due basically to this year's increase in the area under cultivation in the state, private, and family sectors.

War Reports

The need to modernize our Army so as to make it effective in combating and eliminating the bandits was brought up many times by speakers at the latest party provincial conference, who also drew attention to the need to adopt other measures for accelerating the end of the war being forced on us from abroad through the armed bandits.

Because the wartime situation now raging in the country is causing tremendous difficulties and making Niassa, whose means of communication have been sabotaged, the province that is still in the least favorable situation, Jose Bwanacai hopes that the next congress will provide guidelines putting an end to the war, "because the people want peace."

He pointed out that because of weak support for the Provincial Military Command and consequently its units, particularly the one stationed in the Lago District, it has not been possible to destroy two enemy encampments in that district.

Another speaker emphasized that the party and government should repatriate Mozambican refugees from the neighboring countries, and he mentioned Malawi in particular. According to him, the armed bandits circulate freely in that country with the connivance of some local individuals, and he was afraid they might be recruiting young Mozambicans into their ranks.

In the opinion of Eugenio Wetimane, providing the Army with modern equipment and reorganizing the logistics sector of the Mozambique Armed Forces (the FPLM [People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique]) should be the immediate concern of everyone in the country with a view to achieving peace in Mozambique.

In addition, the need for a light aircraft providing links with every district in the province and making it possible to provide help in emergency situations was strongly emphasized in Fernando Assane's speech. He also proposed the construction of an air base in the province. "We have cases of injured people in the districts, but because of the lack of that aircraft, we cannot evacuate them to hospitals immediately."

NOTICIAS has learned that some districts in the eastern part of Niassa receive their supplies by way of Cabo Delgado Province, partly because of transportation difficulties and partly because of the atrocities committed by the armed bandits.

* Cabo Delgado Agricultural Production Up

34420121b Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
11 Jul 89 p 3

[Text] (ICS)—Agricultural production in the family, cooperative, and private sectors in Cabo Delgado Province has increased in recent years. That information was

provided during the party's third provincial conference, at which the province's development since 1983 was analyzed.

The report by the Provincial Committee, which was presented at the conference, points to the war as the main cause of low agricultural output. Another cause has been the lack of means of production at the Chipembe and Nguri agricultural units.

During the period in question, the inhabitants increased family, private, and cooperative production to ensure their own consumption needs, but some regions suffered the effects of drought. Lack of transportation and the poor state of the roads affected the movement of products in the rural zones.

The report presented to the third conference also says that the state, family, and cooperative sectors own 4,491 head of cattle and 50,547 swine.

Wood production rose thanks to the opening of the Mahate sawmill, which produced 12,968 cubic meters of wood for export and 8,841 cubic meters for the domestic market.

In the industrial area, the report says that the Pemba Blanket Textile Factory improved supplies for the inhabitants despite the lack of raw material.

Nongovernmental organizations provided considerable support for small industrial projects and the production of roofing tile and cement. For example, it was possible to build a press for edible oil and 20 flour mills, and 26 other projects are in the process of completion.

The water supply system for the city of Pemba will be completed in August of this year. It will supply water for 216,000 residents of the city and neighboring villages. And 839 fountains were built in the rural communities to serve over 419,500 people.

* Sugar Theft at Maputo Port Worries Officials

34420121c Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
3 Jul 89 p 1

[Article by Carlos Cardoso]

[Text] (AIM)—The country is in danger of losing about \$5 million annually in railroad and port charges if the theft of sugar being exported through the port of Maputo by Swaziland and Zimbabwe is not halted, according to what the AIM [MOZAMBIQUE INFORMATION AGENCY] has been told by Ferreira Mendes, national director of ports and railroads.

This year the government appointed an investigating committee headed by Minister of Interior Manuel Antonio to investigate thefts and hijackings in the National Directorate of Ports and Railroads. One of the products most subject to theft on rail lines in Maputo Province and in the capital city's port is sugar. The AIM spoke with Ferreira Mendes to obtain more information

about the extent of the phenomenon and its consequences as far as the country is concerned.

"Over the past 3 years—since the 1986-1987 season—the quantity of sugar stolen has ranged from 10,000 to 12,000 metric tons per year," said Ferreira Mendes. "That represents about \$1.7 million (\$1 = 742 meticals) per year, since sugar is worth about \$150 per metric ton."

The Overseas Development Agency (ODA), which is the British organization for the support of international development, has been supporting the port of Maputo with investments and technical assistance. Proposed investments currently total 1.2 million pounds (1 pound = 1,149 meticals), including a capital investment of 550,000 pounds specifically for the sugar terminal at the port of Maputo, an amount that does not include technical assistance. "That investment will provide a much more efficient unloading system. The project also includes equipment for the sugar warehouses themselves," said Ferreira Mendes, who emphasized that "it is an important investment."

So far, "there has been no suspension of the investment, but it is subject to certain conditions," the main one being that the sugar thefts must be halted.

Ferreira Mendes recalled that the ODA had already advised Mozambique's railroad and port authorities of the gist of its talks with Swaziland's sugar exporters. The exporters said that Swaziland would support the investment in the sugar terminal at the port of Maputo if the thefts stopped.

Those thefts are already causing a substantial reduction in the Mozambican state's revenues.

Ferreira Mendes explained: "Swaziland has already diverted a lot of sugar (which should have moved through Maputo) to the port of Durban in South Africa. We don't have the exact figure, but we know that it comes to around 150,000 metric tons per year, and that alone means that we are losing revenues on the order of \$2 million."

The AIM wanted to know when Swaziland had started exporting that quantity through Durban. "It has been going on since the 1987-1988 season," said Ferreira Mendes. And he added that besides the thefts, sabotage on the rail lines was also contributing to the situation.

During the 1987-1988 season, 206,000 metric tons of Swaziland sugar passed through Maputo.

Zimbabwean sugar reaches Maputo by way of South Africa over the rail line from Ressano Garcia because the Limpopo line is still being rehabilitated. Swaziland's sugar comes by way of the Goba line, with the Ressano Garcia line as an alternative. During the 1988-1989 season, about 100,000 metric tons of sugar—less than expected—came from Zimbabwe. This was due not to a diversion of traffic to other ports, but to the fact that domestic consumption in Zimbabwe had increased.

But we asked Ferreira Mendes if there was a danger that Zimbabwe would take the same position as Swaziland. "I think so, because in fact, those losses are very sizable. They lose about \$150 for every metric ton that is stolen. At a certain point, that becomes a losing proposition."

If Zimbabwe chooses Durban and Swaziland withdraws from Mozambique the quantities it still ships through Maputo, "the result will be a loss of some \$5 million annually in railroad and port charges."

In Ferreira Mendes' words, the approximately 330,000 metric tons of sugar exported through Maputo by those two countries constitute "extremely important traffic. It occupies first place. Equally important is the traffic in citrus fruit and, now, that in coal, which is more than doubling this year."

The Goba and Ressano Garcia rail lines come together about 10 kilometers from downtown Maputo. Ferreira Mendes said: "During the 1988-1989 season, for example, theft on the railroad is accounting for a little over twice the amount lost in the port. And we know that theft on the railroad is concentrated between Machava (where the junction is located) and the port."

He added that the Mozambique Railroad (CFM) now has a detailed picture of how the thefts occur. The process involves individuals ranging from private citizens to members of the Protection Force and CFM personnel. "In fact, everybody is involved," said Ferreira Mendes, thus calling attention to the proportions being reached by the phenomenon.

But what is being done to eliminate the problem?

"The CFM, specifically in the port, is adopting certain physical measures which will in fact improve the situation. For one thing, it is extending the fence around the sugar terminal, and that job is almost done. This means that railroad cars in the process of unloading will be inside the terminal's fence. With the old fence, cars for unloading were outside the fence, making them more vulnerable to theft. We are also going to install other physical means of detection."

But the national director of ports and railroads emphasized that "there must be a well-organized and disciplined Protection Force, because otherwise, the other measures will not produce the desired effect."

The sum of \$5 million amounts to about 5 percent of the country's exports in 1988. That makes it an astronomical sum when viewed in relation to the country's meager foreign currency earnings.

CFM Efforts To Attract Customers

"We are making efforts to build customer confidence, and to do that, we must solve the problem of sugar thefts on the rail line to Maputo." That is what the AIM was told by David Gomes, the Johannesburg representative of the National Directorate of Ports and Railroads.

Concerning the possible effects of the admission by Mozambican railroad and port authorities that tons of sugar are being stolen on the railroads, David Gomes said the customer countries already knew about it anyway and that the matter had been discussed at the recent conference of ministers of transport of the SADCC [Southern African Development Coordination Conference].

"As the CFM's representative in South Africa, which is the country through which merchandise, including sugar, passes on its way from Zimbabwe to the port of Maputo, I have tried to find out whether some of the thefts may be taking place before the goods reach our frontier," said Gomes.

The Mozambican official added: "We know that South African exporters have, or have had, the same problem with their own sugar on its way to South African ports. Because of that, and in order to clarify the matter, we are discussing with South African carriers the possibility of weighing and checking merchandise from Zimbabwe before it crosses our frontier. That is the only way we can get an exact idea of the quantities being stolen on our section of the railroad, which, after all, is only a few dozen kilometers long."

David Gomes confirmed the huge loss being inflicted on the railroads, and therefore on the Mozambican economy, by these thefts in that they are driving away Swazi and South African customers. If it is to maintain and encourage more traffic from Zimbabwe—and he alluded to the fact that Zimbabwean tobacco, for example, is not being shipped through Mozambique (Beira)—the CFM cannot continue to be let its trains be broken into and robbed.

The CFM representative also said that the railroad has had to pay South African carriers 300,000 rand this year for tarpaulins (used to cover the railroad cars) that were completely ruined during thefts of merchandise on its way to the port of Maputo.

David Gomes said: "Those tarpaulin coverings were simply torn or cut from one end to the other, making it impossible to repair them, and the CFM had to pay the owners of the materials for the damage done."

* Displaced Persons Receive Land in Bilene

34420121d Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
21 Jun 89 p 3

[Text] For the purpose of integrating thousands of peasants living as displaced persons, authorities in the Bilene District of Gaza Province have been distributing land in irrigated and nonirrigated zones, primarily in the Praia do Bilene Administrative Post. Over 600 hectares benefiting more than 300 families have been distributed.

In an interview with our correspondent in Gaza, the representative of the Emergency Committee in that

district, Samuel Malhaieie, said that seed is being distributed at the same time, although the quantities are far from enough to meet the needs of the families concerned.

The shortage of means of production, especially hoes, was another factor mentioned as being a matter of concern in Bilene. It is known, however, that peasants have had encouraging results with agricultural production in some areas, examples being Mangol, Chitlanho, and Messano, where they have produced some corn, rice, and manioc for their own subsistence.

Samuel Malhaieie said that the Bilene District currently has about 97,000 displaced persons, representing 64 percent of the population living in that part of Gaza Province.

That number is the result of the displacement of former inhabitants of the administrative posts of Macuane, Praia do Bilene, Messano, Chissano, and Macia from their homes by the criminal actions of the armed bandits.

According to our source, the constant displacement of those inhabitants has kept them from carrying out productive tasks in the desirable manner, thus causing a steady increase in the number of cases of malnutrition, mainly among children.

"The free distribution and sale of products through commercial channels is proceeding normally, the problem being the failure to send products with nutritional value, inasmuch as the DPCCN [Department for the Prevention of and Struggle Against Natural Disasters] has limited itself to distributing corn, thus making a diversified diet impossible," said our source.

Discussing the means of access to localities affected by enemy action, the representative of the Emergency Committee explained that there was an urgent need to maintain those roads so as to facilitate vehicle traffic.

He said that this year, the Bilene District will need 4,000 metric tons of miscellaneous foodstuffs, including cereals, beans, and edible oil, to support at least 78,000 people affected by the situation. Those needs include 400 metric tons of seed.

War Affecting Education

With the worsening of the wartime situation in Bilene and neighboring districts, there has been an influx of children into schools that are relatively safe. Those schools are being faced with various problems of a pedagogical nature. There is also a serious shortage of food products in some localities.

The group of displaced persons includes 25 teachers who have moved from their original localities to safer areas.

Samuel Malhaieie drew attention to the example set by teachers in the Mangol area, who are finding ways and favorable times to teach their pupils despite those difficult conditions.

At present, 19 schools in the Bilene district have been closed because of enemy action.

Namibia

SADF Completes Ondangwa Facility Dismantling

MB3008172489 Umtata Capital Radio in English
1000 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] The South African Defense Force has dismantled a radar communications unit in northern Namibia.

A South African military convoy of 40 vehicles moving southwards from Namibia is carrying out of the territory a dismantled communications facility from Ondangwa Air Base, in northern Ovambo. For more than 15 years, Ondangwa was an important center of military operations against SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] guerrillas and Angolan forces across the northern border, but now it is almost idle, with United Nations air traffic keeping it open.

Under the Resolution 435 independence plan, South Africa has withdrawn the 30,000 strong army that was stationed here. Only 1,500 remain concentrated at Oshivelo base as a gate into the Ovambo region. More than 1,000 soldiers of a mechanized battalion are stationed there, supported by armored vehicles, heavy tanks, long range artillery, and anti-aircraft units.

Officers at Oshivelo say they're on 3 hours stand by.

* SWABC Charged With Progovernment Bias

34000752a Windhoek THE TIMES OF NAMIBIA
in English 13 Jul 89 pp 1, 3

[Article by Duncan Guy]

[Text] The SWA Broadcasting Corporation [SWABC] must stop its bias in favour of the status quo or the Namibian Peace Plan Study and Contact Group would consider taking it before the O'Linn Commission on Intimidation.

NPP 435 [Namibian Peace Plan Group 435] acting chairman Peter Koep issued this warning at a press conference yesterday, where he recommended that the SWABC should immediately begin to broadcast different views on issues to create a positive atmosphere for debate.

Presenting a report by a special sub-committee appointed to investigate the electronic media, he said the SWABC supported the status quo by selectively editing and compiling news bulletins.

"As the only electronic media it plays a vital role in informing Namibians of the election and preparing them for it," said Mr Koep.

He said since Namibia now fell under Res 435, it should be the interests of the country, not those of South Africa, which were reflected in broadcasts.

Against Swapo

The report clearly shows the SWABC's bias in favour of the AG [Administrator General] and against the UN and Swapo. Of the 25 minutes and 10 seconds of radio commentaries monitored, almost half (12:30) was devoted to negative comment on Swapo. A further 2:15 was negative comment on Untag. The AG, South Africa and DTA [Democratic Turnhalle Alliance] received only positive comments.

These commentaries were written by SWABC staff members and as such most directly reflect the views of the corporation.

"For the AG to state that he will not interfere in the affairs of the SWABC is to deny his responsibilities in terms of Res 435," Mr Koep said.

Mr Koep further asked what the AG meant by saying the SWABC was a "para-statal."

"Who has an interest in the SWABC? Does he deny it is funded by the Namibian people?" he asked.

Referring to SWABC director-general Piet Venter, Mr Koep said in the light of Res 435 he no longer had the power to restrict news by arbitrarily selecting items which should or should not be exposed to the Namibian public.

SA Interests

"If Mr Venter cannot change his spots he must be replaced with somebody who can.

"I can understand Mr Venter's problem, as with Colonel Dreyer (former head of Koevoet) and the AG. They have been put here to further the interests of South Africa," he added.

Mr Koep presented observations made during the investigation, chaired by media specialist Nahum Gorelick who monitored news programmes between June 18 and July 3.

"The SWABC very often use only elements of a particular story to portray and promote a particular view to cast individuals and groups in a certain calculated light.

"Based on information from all the printed media, its selectiveness becomes even more apparent as no own investigation is done."

Cops Favoured

The study made specific reference to news reports on alleged atrocities and intimidation coming from official police sources, which received high profile coverage and were accepted without question.

"The same standard did not apply to reports against Swapo.

"These items are very often used to counter factual reporting of Swapo news items, and this has the effect of negating any positive effects."

The report said although SWABC policy was one of "non-sensationalism," it was apparent that reports about anything opposed to the current status quo often tended to be alarmist.

"This can be seen specifically in political rhetoric broadcast by the DTA, Action 435, Democratic Action for Namas, The Parents' Committee, the AG's office and its own 'commentary.'"

Television time, the report said, reached people who wielded a certain economic influence while radio was more accessible and affordable to the general population.

"Economic coverage given on news broadcasts is critical of alternative economic systems and is alarmist due to the linkage implied between socialism and poverty."

The report added that "equal time does not imply impartiality, if the message content is not presented in a similar fashion with regard to positive and negative connotations."

Mr Koep said the NPP 435 report recommended that the SWABC play an active role in promoting reconciliation, rather than the polarisation of Namibian society.

"To achieve our recommendations they should seriously consider effecting changes in the personnel responsible for news policy and dissemination."

*** Zimbabweans Propose Joint Development Programs**

34000753a Windhoek *THE NAMIBIAN* in English
30 Jun 89 p 4

[Article by Susan Brown: "Partnership Between Equals"]

[Text] Foreign governments and aid agencies are flocking into Namibia, all with their own agendas. Namibia's Southern African neighbours are here too, offering neighbourly help and advice. Below is one of the more specific development proposal packages a neighbour has yet offered.

A successful non-racial Namibia will strengthen the Southern African region's economic and political stability—and ease fears in South Africa as it moves towards its own liberation.

With this in mind, the Frontline States, particularly Zimbabwe and Botswana, are concerned to help Namibia formulate practical development plans that avoid some of the pitfalls they themselves fell into.

Botswana, for example, has a successful record of aid management, and Zimbabwe solid achievement in transforming local economies in a number of communal areas—and they wish [to] make their expertise available.

A practical instance is a package of proposals for Namibian-Zimbabwean co-operation on research and design of policies and programmes for reconstruction and development.

Put together by the Southern Africa Foundation for Economic Research (SAFER), its aim is explicitly "to enable Namibia to gain from Zimbabwe's experience post-independence."

SAFER, a Zimbabwean organisation based in Harare, has as its chairman Mr Didymus Mutasa, Speaker of the House of Assembly and third in line in Zimbabwe's government.

Its director, Dr Norman Reynolds, served four years as chief economic advisor to President Mugabe's government from 1980, and has worked for communities, governments and the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC).

"Swapo and political and representative bodies within Namibia have expressed a belief that Zimbabwe's experience post-independence is of great value," says SAFER's proposal.

Dr Reynolds told *THE NAMIBIAN* that Swapo's chief representative in Zimbabwe, Mr Kupuka Nauyala, had shown the proposal to a number of the movement's top officials who expressed a general consensus in its favour.

The aim is "to bring Zimbabwean experience and expertise into play alongside experts and representative bodies within Namibia, and, through a series of workshops and visits, to bring the results of the programme proposals to a wider Namibian audience.

"They are intended to help meet the immediate short-term needs of Namibia once independent whilst building understandings, institutions and national programmes which can serve over the long term," the proposal says.

Dr Reynolds was visiting Namibia this week. He spoke at an economic conference, and has, he said, begun looking for Namibians to participate in the research and workshop programmes through which the proposals will be developed "as a South-South partnership between equals."

A donor conference met in Harare 10 days ago to consider the SAFER programme proposals. One of them already has confirmed backing from the European Economic Community. Small teams including both Namibians and Zimbabwean consultants would work on researching and designing the programmes. Some are outlined below.

Reconstruction

The aim of this first programme in SAFER's package is to "use Zimbabwe's success in post-war rural reconstruction of damaged physical infrastructure to design such a programme for the militarily occupied northern area of Namibia."

As well as an assessment of damage and reconstruction needs, a team of two Zimbabweans together with Namibian experts would list items which are missing and needed speedily in northern communities, and for which foreign donors will contribute.

But to link early reconstruction with government's capacity to fund long-term development, the programme will aim towards a form of long term public works programme. Zimbabwe's rural Employment Guarantee Scheme, slowly becoming successful in some areas, an example of this.

It is designed to replace on-off foreign drought or other relief schemes which stop once the crisis is over, by providing rural people with a continuous choice of low-paid work developing local facilities—dams, roads, schools—in the agricultural off-season or when times are hard.

Village Renewal

This programme targets renewing or building democratic village-level structures able to deliver the national government's programmes and services, to build up technical and management support system, and ultimately to undertake constructive grassroots management of local resources.

Once attained, this will provide a solid base for land reforms or resettlement programmes.

SAFER's immediate aim here is to produce a village renewal programme outline, including packages for grants or loans and technical or management packages.

As well as working our potential village member constitutions, it would devise a support system for necessary inputs, draw up a three-year implementation schedule and budget, outline the optimum approach to resettlement and define donor agencies' place in it.

Freedom Fighter Training

When Namibia's fighters return to the areas from which the occupying force has withdrawn, the new government may wish quickly to form a national army—as Zimbabwe did—but a long-term aim will be to equip fighters to move back easily and usefully into civilian life.

They will need technical and vocational training. The by-then abandoned military bases in the north—where most returnees come from—could be put to constructive use for the first time, using donors for staffing and support.

Zimbabwe has a number of training institutions which could be useful, notably those developed after independence for returnees, including the disabled.

Some combine schooling with skills training, and all are grappling with the issue of equipping their graduates either to find employment or to become self-employed. One such training body, Danikho, already has Namibian students.

Healing the War's Traumas

After the horror of the war was over, government's policy of national reconciliation was important in turning Zimbabweans to repairing social and human damage; locally, too, support for peasant farmers aided the return to the land.

Ordinary people went home and worked to heal damaged people and divided communities. Local church leaders and traditional healers also played a crucial role, especially in helping traumatised children to recover.

The SAFER programme aims to document Namibian children's experience, and to outline a Namibian programme for social and psychological healing and strengthening of communities.

Rural Service Delivery

Zimbabwe's initial programme for building small towns for rural people to move to so as to get education, health, marketing and the other services government wanted to deliver to them proved slow and costly.

Now a Rural Marketing Society is trying to set up an interlocking system of small local markets held at regular intervals, where rural people can buy and sell their produce, and where government services like mobile clinics and libraries can reach them more easily.

The SAFER programme's aim is to see if a Namibian equivalent can be set up, potentially helping rural economies while making it easier for government to deliver services.

Agricultural Training

This programme aims to review Namibia's agricultural training, bearing in mind what Zimbabwe has learned—mainly that agricultural college and university-level training needs compulsory on-farm practical training to balance the theory, and particularly to let students gain farm management skills.

Farmers in Zimbabwe's communal areas need less and less technical input, having absorbed most of what it has to offer. So black farming trainees are increasingly moving into management of commercial farms, where the older generation of (mainly white) farmers needs younger successors, and has useful experience to impart.

This programme's end product will be a blueprint for a government-farmer-donor programme which uses on-farm service in training.

Central Planning Ministry

Until recently, Zimbabwe's Economic Planning Ministry managed foreign aid and capital expenditure, but did little to initiate policy or programmes. This left foreign donors to choose and fund individual projects, than making them rather than participate in government-led national programmes.

Now a new national planning body is taking shape, with representatives from the major economic sectors on its main committee.

So SAFER's aim in proposing this programme is to make available top Zimbabwean experts to Namibia's new central government, and to set out the major requirements it will face for successful economic planning, among them structures for representation and information gathering; inter-Ministry relationships; plan and budget devolution; staff training and usefully managing foreign aid and expertise.

The Gambia

Senegalese Troops Begin Pullout 30 Aug

AB3008213389 Paris AFP in French 1814 GMT
30 Aug 89

[Text] Banjul, 30 August [AFP]—Senegalese troops stationed in The Gambia as part of the Senegambian Confederation forces began pulling out of this country today, observers in Banjul noted.

About 45 gendarmes and hundreds of soldiers left the Gambian capital for Senegal by road today. Another group of 45 gendarmes will leave Banjul on 1 September. The Senegalese troop pullout should continue over a 10-day period, it was learned from military sources. About 90 Senegalese gendarmes were stationed in The Gambia, where they took over presidential protection and security at the Banjul airport and harbor. One hundred police officers were part of the Confederal Intelligence Unit, which also included 100 Gambian policemen, according to reliable sources. Finally, about 1,200 Senegalese soldiers were based in Brikama (a suburb of Banjul) and Katong (west of the Gambian capital), it was learned from reliable sources. The pullout of the Senegalese confederal troops from The Gambia follows the freeze in the operation of Senegambia, suggested on 24 August by the Senegalese head of state, Abdou Diouf. This pullout was officially announced on the same occasion by President Diouf.

Ghana

* Export Production Villages To Be Created

34000730c Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English
14 Jul 89 pp 1, 3

[Excerpt] The Ghana Export Promotion Council (GEPC) is to establish Export Production Villages (EPV) in all the regions to boost the production of non-traditional exports.

In an interview with the GNA in Accra yesterday, Mr Tawiah Akyea, Director in charge of Trade Information and Export Services of the GEPC, said the pilot project known as 'Export Trade Planning and Promotion', falls under a broad three-year traditional export development plan 1988-91.

Under the plan, the GEPC will provide producers with technical advice in all fields of endeavour including marketing strategies.

Mr Akyea said the GEPC had already identified areas with potential export capabilities in each region and that the scheme would begin by the end of the year.

The project would be extended to all the districts, he said, adding that the district assemblies could contribute by identifying non-traditional products in their areas and encouraging participation by producers.

Mr Akyea said export earnings increased from 566 million dollars in 1984 to 796 million dollars in 1988 with non-traditional export contributing only five percent.

The traditional export development plan, he said, was intended to raise the non-traditional export contribution from five to 15 percent, while the export trade planning and promotion project sought to redress the constraints that had hindered increase in production and export of non-traditional products.

There had been no direct marketing relationship between exporters and producers. And financial institutions had been reluctant to give assistance to rural producers because of lack of assured marketing arrangements.

The project would also address the problem of inadequate manpower capabilities in the institutions which dealt with exports.

Mr Akyea noted that there were no institutional mechanisms for the planning and co-ordination of export production in the districts and regional levels. [passage omitted]

Guinea-Bissau

Border Conflict Taken to International Court

AB2908214889 Paris AFP in French 1701 GMT
29 Aug 89

[Text] The Hague (The Netherlands), 29 Aug (AFP)—Guinea-Bissau has brought the border conflict with Senegal before the International Court of Justice at The Hague, the highest judiciary authority of the United Nations, the Record Office of the court announced today. The conflict is on the demarcation of the maritime border between Senegal and Guinea-Bissau. Guinea-Bissau has rejected a decision made by an ad hoc arbitration court in Geneva which, on 31 July, had ruled in favor of Senegal after more than a year of deliberation. In its "introductory action to the court" lodged on 23 August at the International Court of Justice, Guinea-Bissau is requesting the annulment of the Arbitration Court's decision.

Negotiations undertaken in 1977 between the two West African states came to nothing and Guinea-Bissau and Senegal decided in March 1985 to take the case to a special court with three judges presiding. Guinea-Bissau has described the 31 July verdict as "partial, incomplete and unfair," and accused the Arbitration Court of not completing its verdict with a map showing the approved demarcation line as requested by the two concerned countries.

The conflict began in the 1970's after Senegal discovered oil in the disputed zone. These oil deposits have not been by Senegal up to now.

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